ABSTRACT

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SERVING IN THE SHADOWS: AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN HEALTHCARE WORKERS IN GARY, INDIANA—1980-2000

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This dissertation is an investigation of survival and resistance strategies crafted and carried out by African-American working-class women in the health care industry in Gary, Indiana during the two decades from 1980 to 2000. More specifically, this research project examines the workplace and union activities and consciousness of black women service workers in the hospitals and nursing homes where they worked during a dramatic historical period of resurgent race and gender backlash, throttled and ebbing Black Power initiatives, manufacturing demise within the steel industry, and expansion of low-wage service work in the region of Northwest Indiana.

Using a black feminist theoretical framework, this case study investigated the workplace experiences of fifteen black women, and found that they had experienced various types of discrimination in (1) training, (2) types of work performed, (3) pay,

(4) hours of employment, (5) various types of discrimination encountered in the workplace, (6) racial-ethnic and gender compositions of the workforce, (7) union presence or absence, (8) general kinds of workplace conflicts, and (9) individual and collective strategies of survival and resistance.

The underestimation of working-class women's activism has proven a major impediment to the development of thoroughgoing analyses of politico-economic conditions and inclusive strategies for social change. In fact, the value of studying the labors of black working-class women has become more apparent in recent decades because U.S. social scientists need to know not only the varied ways in which different types of social hierarchy affect women's modes of resistance; but also the perceptions that different women have of their labors and the meanings of those labors to them.

SERVING IN THE SHADOWS: AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN HEALTHCARE WORKERS IN GARY, INDIANA--1980-2000

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents (continued)

Table of Contents (continued)

Table of Contents (continued)

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Overview and Statement of the Problem

This dissertation is an investigation of survival and resistance strategies crafted and carried out by African-American working-class women in the health care industry in Gary, Indiana during the two decades from 1980 to 2000. More specifically, this research project examines the workplace and union activities and consciousness of black women service workers in the hospitals and nursing homes where they worked during a dramatic historical period of resurgent race and gender backlash, throttled and ebbing Black Power initiatives, manufacturing demise within the steel industry, and expansion of low-wage service work in the region of Northwest Indiana.

Global Restructuring and Working-Class Inquiry

Amidst the economic, political, social, and ideological sea changes caused since the 1970s by international capital's neoliberal[1] globalization, many U.S. scholars and social change activists have sought greater understanding of working-class experiences.[2] Such understanding has become increasingly necessary in order for social scientists to more adequately explain the causes and effects of restructuring within the complex conditions of the United States. Comprehension of the experiences of U.S. workers has also been vital for those feminist scholars, labor educators, political scientists, public

policy analysts, and grassroots activists seeking to help forge more effective responses by working people and their communities to the myriad economic and political assaults on standards of living; on the democratic functioning of major societal institutions; on the civil and human rights of citizens and members of marginalized groups and communities; and on the welfare state itself. Greater appreciation of working-class life and resistance has also promised answers to the decline of social movements that so dramatically impacted the country during the 1960s and 1970s.[3]

A characteristic and recurring limitation of such intellectual and political efforts, however, has been their inability to adequately address the lives of groups of workers whose experiences of multiple and simultaneous oppressions[4] typically receive inadequate and biased attention in the mainstream scholarship, institutions, and narratives of this country.

Acknowledgment of the failure of mainstream scholars to adequately theorize the lives of women and men in the societal margins has become a commonplace during the past four decades in the United States. From the heady days of insurgent social movements during the 1960s until the present, social scientists have repeatedly critiqued and expanded the partial accounts, silences, distortions, and untruths that have influenced generations of structured inequalities. Today, despite the rejection of such "revisionist" scholarship by many of the society's most privileged and powerful; social change activists and educators continue to excavate the experiences and tell the stories of working people that demonstrate the potential of human beings to change their immediate circumstances, themselves, and their social order.

Yet even the most progressive accounts—indeed, even purportedly radical examinations—often fail to reveal the complex ways in which working-class women of color navigate the turbulent currents of their oppressions within the United States. By often obscuring and/or downplaying the particular ways in which these workers experience political and economic oppression, social scientists miss opportunities to uncover the specific conditions that shape varied forms of working-class reality. Moreover, when the conditions of marginalized women workers are inadequately understood, their resilience and resistance to contemporary conditions become less visible, and remain less validated.[5] The end result of such deficient accounts is that social science understanding of U.S. working-class agency[6] is undermined. Equally problematic is the fact that with partial and inaccurate understanding of working-class life, social scientists cannot help the members of oppressed social groups to forge inclusive and nuanced strategies for social change. This inquiry seeks to address such limitations by placing the experience(s) of one cohort of African- American women health care workers, in Gary, Indiana, at the center of analysis.

The Significance of the Research Questions and Study

What strategies for survival and resistance did African-American working class women devise in Gary hospitals and nursing homes during the initial stages of deindustrialization and restructuring? How did the women of this study seek to implement these strategies, and what did they hope to accomplish? These research questions inevitably raise a number of important political and social matters regarding their significance as problems for research. An essential point of departure in addressing

this topic of "significance" is recognition of the unique positioning of African-American women as both "insiders" and "outsiders" in relation to the U.S. body politic.[7] Such recognition has been increasingly elaborated during the past four decades. Some thoughtful consideration of this insider/outsider status will enable us to better appreciate the several reasons for the utility of this projected study.

Revisiting the Contributions of U. S. Women Workers

First, historical and political analyses of major social movements of the post-WWII period clearly indicate the substantive contributions of U.S. working-class women.[8] Despite their many expressions of political agency, however; the political activities of working-class women have largely remained an obscured—and often disregarded—object of scholarly inquiry for most political scientists within the United States.[9]

This underestimation of the importance of working-class women's activism has proven a major impediment to the development of thoroughgoing analyses of politico-economic conditions and inclusive strategies for social change. As feminist scholars Ann Bookman and Sandra Morgen have noted, the persistent failure to document varied forms of political action among working-class women "has contributed to the development of theories of political action and consciousness that fail to deal with gender as a salient analytic concept and do not recognize how race, ethnicity, and class specify women's modes of resistance."[10] Moreover, the value of studying the labors of working-class women has become increasingly apparent in recent decades because, as Myra Marx Ferree has noted, U.S. social scientists need to know not only the varied ways in which

different types of social hierarchy affect women's modes of resistance; but also the perceptions that different women have of their labors and the meanings of those labors to them.[11] In turn, this scholarly focus on how different women understand their labors and lives further obliges us to investigate the lives of working-class women if we wish to more fully comprehend how particular groups of women workers have experienced contemporary conditions differently (from men and other women) as a result of race and gender influences in their lives.[12]

Class and Gender in African-American Life

Rethinking the importance of working-class women's political activism presents particular challenges for African-American social scientists, and indicates a second reason for this study: the need to examine the activist strategies of black workers—especially workers who are women. Throughout the travail of African-Americans in this country; black scholars and activists have usually been inclined (notwithstanding a precious few exceptions) to focus scholarly attention primarily on putative matters of race; that is, matters generally assumed to be the result of the operation of race and race antipathy toward African-Americans. Such an orientation has generally given inadequate attention to the influences of class and/or gender.[13] Here it is also important to note that this "monist" orientation has often obscured the way(s) in which matters assumed to be "simply racial" have actually been shaped by the mutual influences of race and other principles of social organization.[14] Moreover, such theoretical myopia has often limited the capacities of scholars and activists to "see" and nurture emergent expressions of insurgency among working-class blacks.[15] Lucid accounts of such political and

theoretical blindness have been offered in recent years by a number of notable scholars, including Manning Marable and Leith Mullings, Joy James, Michael Goldfield, Melinda Chateauvert, Sharon Harley, Cheryl Townsend Gilkes, Bonnie Thornton Dill, Rose Brewer, and Patricia Hill Collins.

Marable and Mullings provide numerous examples of hard-won victories in social struggles grounded amongst black workers (the vast majority of African-Americans historically). In so doing, they reveal how such victories have often resulted in new contradictions and stages of struggle that have undermined the capacities of black workers to develop socio-political movements in more "transformationist" directions.[16] Marable and Mullings have also emphasized the vitiating effects of sexism and patriarchy on the underdevelopment of black struggles for autonomy, inclusion, and transformation.[17]

Joy James has questioned the continuing preoccupation amongst many African-American scholars with the notion of a "Talented Tenth" as the key to (male) leadership of contemporary black struggles for human rights and group liberation.[18] Revisiting Dr. W.E.B. DuBois's earliest conception of the ideal, (originally advanced by Henry Morehouse in 1896); James traces the evolution of Dr. DuBois's thinking from 1903 to 1952. She concludes that Dr. DuBois eventually rejected his earlier formulations to embrace (as potentially more reliable) the leadership of African-American workers:

> His evolving thought was influenced by different sources and experiences. Battles with Washington and academia infused his developing concept of race leadership and agency.... DuBois's political experiences gave him a difficult schooling in the flaws and infidelities of the elites designated to redeem both the souls of black folks and the American soul.... By 1940, having been rejected by academe, censured by Washington's black

> conservatives, frustrated by NAACP white and black liberals, the archetype of antiracist intellectualism and leadership departs from his earlier view of elite agency. Revisiting the Talented Tenth, he critiques the class elitism inherent in the original concept and argues for the unique role black workers can play in social justice.[19]

By the 1952 publication of his memoir *In Battle for Peace*, DuBois would arrive at an understanding that is all too often overlooked in current evaluations of his political thought:

> My faith hitherto had been in what I once denominated the 'Talented Tenth.' I now realize that the ability within a people does not automatically work for its highest salvation...naturally, out of the mass of the working classes, who know life in its bitter struggle, will continually rise the real, unselfish and clear-sighted leadership.[20]

Underscoring the recurring tendency of scholars to read class and gender influences out of African-American history, Michael Goldfield has noted that "...for all those who look at the background of civil rights activity, attempting to discover those early activities that helped embolden, set the tone, and lay the groundwork for the later movement, few point to or even seem to know much about the scope of labor-based civil rights activities in the post-World War II period."[21] Goldfield presents a direct challenge to customary interpretations of black political history when he affirms that "it was the labor organization and militancy of black workers that was to lay the basis, broadening the horizons and expectations—energizing the vehicles of struggle—for the movement of the 1950s and 1960s."[22]

Melinda Chateauvert's path-breaking *Marching Together*, examines the organizational and political roles of the black women who helped build the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Chateauvert not only praises the unsung efforts of black working women; but she also critiques the persistent "disinterest" of U.S. society,

including many African-Americans, "in African-American women as workers (emphasis added)."[23] Such continuing disinterest undoubtedly reflects a perennial exclusion of women, according to Carole Pateman, from the category of "citizen:"

> Theoretically and historically, the central criterion for citizenship has been 'independence,' and the elements encompassed under the heading of independence have been based on masculine attributes and abilities. Men, but not women, have been seen as possessing the capabilities required of 'individuals,' 'workers' and 'citizens.' As a corollary, the meaning of dependence' is associated with all that is womanly—and women's citizenship in the welfare state is full of paradoxes and contradictions.[24]

Astute on its face, Pateman's observation seems to echo early second-wave preoccupations with Whiteness and monist notions of gender. It therefore cannot adequately address racial-ethnic differences in the representations and social locations of diverse groups of women. Nevertheless, while her observation focuses on the theoretical and political marginalization of a generic (white) woman within U.S. political science; it also lends credence to Chateauvert's recognition of the pressing need for studies of particular strata of African-American women.

The scholarly work of Cheryl Townsend Gilkes has effectively elaborated the necessity for social scientists to more rigorously examine the relationship between the distinctive labors of African-American women (both paid and unpaid), and their efforts to confront multiple forms of oppression as members of oppressed communities. Gilkes sees such inquiries as potentially helpful in clarifying the ways in which varied principles of organization have operated in the United States:

> As members of a racial-ethnic group whose color and historical role in the labor force combined to intensify the experience of oppression, African-American women, particularly, have defied analysis from the Eurocentric and androcentric perspectives of those who would treat race, class, and gender as discrete and independent entities. Recent attempts by feminist

> scholars have also fallen short of grasping fully the theoretical dimensions of African-American women's experience.[25]

The unique economic, political, ideological, and social positioning of African-American working-class women in U.S. history is a theme that is developed by Sharon Harley in "Speaking Up: The Politics of Black Women's Labor History." Echoing the contemporary need to reexamine the voices and activism of black workers, she stresses the centrality of black working-class women. She is therefore quite pointed in her criticism of continuing silences and distortions regarding black women workers, when so much remains unknown:

> The lives and voices of African-American, Native-American, Asian-American, and Latina-American women workers seldom reached the shorelines despite the great waves of labor, African-American, and women's histories washing against academic beachheads during the late 1960s and 1970s. Black female workers are often marginalized in histories of the working class, despite the historical and contemporary appropriation of black female bodies and identities as workers. The low status of their work and unexamined assumptions about the absence of a 'working-class consciousness' made women, particularly poorer women and women of color, appear largely 'unworthy' of sustained examination in the minds of far too many historians and other scholars. Consequently, the realities of their waged and unwaged work remained lost to all but members of the stable black working class and a small cohort of scholars for whom marginalizing black women's labor would be a rejection of themselves and the working grandmothers, mothers, aunts, and working men in their families and communities.[26]

Harley's scholarly efforts to interrogate—and honor—the conditions and strategies of African-American working-class women historically are extremely valuable to us today because she helps us to question and rethink customary meanings assigned to "working-class" formation and "working-class" consciousness. Traditional definitions, whether mainstream- or Left-inspired, have generally excluded critical aspects of African-American experiences:

> How was it possible for a working-class consciousness to develop among black wage-earning women? The majority was domestic servants and farm hands and many were married. They occupied low-status unskilled jobs in the marketplace and if married, were considered to be in violation of an acceptable code of behavior. They tended to view their work as temporary (regardless of their length of employment), and they were grossly discriminated against by most labor organizers as well as by other workers...That wage-earning women of either race, and black men, for that matter, did not share with trade unionists a certain outlook about their status as workers and about the working class in general should not be surprising. It was difficult for women, regardless of race, and for black men to develop a working-class consciousness along the lines of a white male trade unionist while at the same time being denied membership in a white male-dominated union or, if granted membership, while being discriminated against.[27]

Harley's work highlights the need for social scientists to recognize the role of multiple oppressions in the varying milieus in which African-American workers have confronted the tasks thrust upon them. Their responses have usually been grounded within efforts to enable their families and communities to survive, and may well be able to illuminate what more established understandings of "work" and "worker" have obscured:

> While the economic motivation for their wage work was often similar to that of male wage earners, wage-earning women tended to view themselves as self-sacrificing mothers, wives, aunts, and sisters or as race uplifters rather than as workers. Their attitude toward their employment was, in part, an effort (not always conscious) to reconcile the domestic ideology about women's expected roles with the reality of their paid work lives and, in the case of domestic service workers, to de-emphasize the importance of their paid work lives to their everyday life and self-perception...Working women's often public disclaimers about their wage-earning roles should not be interpreted, however, as a lack of working-class consciousness or as a lack of concern about issues involving their lives as wage earners, their work conditions, and their wages. Expressions of working-class attitudes were revealed more often in private correspondence and conversations than in the public arena. Personal reflections of work-related concerns and activism have been divulged in recent personal interviews with black working women and in recent publications by women and labor historians.[28]

The work of Bonnie Thornton Dill provides further justification for an examination of the social reproductive labors of black women—especially when such labor is performed within the public sphere of paid work. Dill's research with African-American women domestics establishes a well-grounded point of departure for studying black women healthcare workers precisely because of the continuing stigma of racial degradation that pervades both the private and public forms of such socially-reproductive work.[29] Dill's work also underscores the evident reluctance of many African-American women to define themselves by the racial, sexual, and class criteria by which Whites have measured them.[30]

If scholarly and media marginalization of African-American women workers have impaired efforts to understand the conditions of oppressed communities contemporarily; the need for greater social scientific knowledge of how African-Americans have responded to the effects of deindustrialization and restructuring poses another reason for this research project. Rose Brewer's incisive discussions capture the family and community emphases of Gilkes, Harley, and Dill; while also underscoring the need for black feminist inquiries that focus on the strategies of black women workers.

> Indeed, in examining race, class and gender simultaneously, it is evident that they are pointedly expressed in the social positioning of black Americans...By any indicator—occupational, educational, political—African-Americans are still heavily marginalized and excluded from equal participation and equal rewards in American society. Racism in its advanced form is alive and well...Class differences do exist, and they suggest that a segment of the black population is somewhat well articulated into the labor market... Nonetheless the working class poor and very poor have increased. Moreover, poverty is increasingly concentrated in female-headed households... Under conditions of advanced capitalism, crucial to policy analysis is an explication of the intersection of race, class, and gender. The separate literatures and research practices which

> characterize race, class and gender studies are partial perspectives. But these deeply rooted inequalities are also highly embedded in one another. Racial inequality shapes and takes form through class and gender relations. A thorough understanding of African-American families requires comprehension of these social relations internal to it and the social structure in which it is embedded.[31]

The analyses of Patricia Hill Collins in her second edition of *Black Feminist Thought* evoke yet another significant reason for studying African-American women workers during the initial stages of neoliberal restructuring: the need for a more class-conscious orientation in the work of black feminist scholars:

> A crucial factor in contemporary African-American civil society is not simply black men's marginalization from work but changes affecting black women's paid and unpaid work... Two major changes affect U.S. black women's paid labor. The first is black women's movement from domestic service to industrial and clerical work. The second is black women's integration into the international division of labor in low-paid service work, which does not provide sufficient income to support a family. When combined, these two factors segment black working-class women into two subgroups. African-American women holding good jobs in industry and the governmental sector constitute the core of the black working class. Black women who can find only low-paid, intermittent service work become part of the working poor, that segment of the black working class most likely to end up in poverty. Both groups work, and the nature of the jobs they hold determines their work and family experiences. More black feminist-influenced studies that examine how intersections of race and gender influence the work experiences of working-class black women are sorely needed... Despite its size and significance, the black working class has been rendered mostly invisible within contemporary U.S. black feminist thought[32]

Collins offers us an approach that is uniquely instructive because it reaches beyond our needs to learn from the labors of African-American women workers. Indeed, what seems even more intriguing is her call for us to learn from the subjugated, and often oppositional, knowledge created and shared by black women workers:

> As an historically oppressed group, U.S. black women have produced social thought designed to oppose oppression. Not only does the form assumed by this thought diverge from standard academic theory—it can take the form of poetry, music, essays, and the like—but the purpose of black women's collective thought is distinctly different. Social theories emerging from and/or on behalf of U.S. black women and other historically oppressed groups aim to find ways to escape, survive in, and/or oppose prevailing social and economic injustice.[33]

Acknowledging the dialectical character of the oppressive contexts that have characterized black women's lives, Collins recognizes that even as these conditions constrain black women, they also shape their resistance:

> Conditions in the wider political economy simultaneously shape black women's subordination and foster activism. On some level, people who are oppressed usually know it. For African-American women, the knowledge gained at intersecting oppressions of race, class, and gender provides the stimulus for crafting and passing on the subjugated knowledge of black women's critical social theory....[34]

Collins carefully notes that within the contradictory realities of their oppression, all African-American women have not experienced that oppression in identical ways. Despite such differences, however, their common legacy is evident and effectual:

> For African-American women, critical social theory encompasses bodies of knowledge and sets of institutional practices that actively grapple with the central questions facing U.S. black women as a collectivity. The need for such thought arises because African-American women as a group remain oppressed within a U.S. context characterized by injustice. This neither means that all African-American women within that group are oppressed in the same way, nor that some U.S. black women do not suppress others...But the legacy of struggle...suggests that a collectively shared, black women's oppositional knowledge has long existed. This collective wisdom in turn has spurred U.S. black women to generate a more specialized knowledge, namely, black feminist thought as critical social theory.[35]

Further justification for studying the survival and resistance strategies of African-American working-class women can be discerned in the destabilizing

challenges posed by black women's lives to social science scholarship within the academy and contemporary social movements. Their lives have already challenged existing bodies of knowledge to include experiences (and knowledge) that has been marginalized. Perhaps even more profoundly, however; such analyses have also pointed to the need to rethink and radically reorient much of what has been accepted as accurate and socially-useful knowledge—even amongst Western feminists. Deborah K. King has emphasized the powerful potential of black women's lives to radically inform in her formidable essay, "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology." Grounding her analysis in the "interactive oppressions" of black women's lives, King has challenged most contemporary approaches to understanding black women:

> Unfortunately, most applications of the concepts of double and triple jeopardy have been overly simplistic in assuming that the relationships among the various discriminations are merely additive. These relationships are interpreted as equivalent to the mathematical equation, racism plus sexism plus classism equals triple jeopardy. In this instance, each discrimination has a single, direct, and independent effect on status, wherein the relative contribution of each is readily apparent. This simple incremental process does not represent the nature of black women's oppression, but rather...leads to nonproductive assertions that one factor can should supplant the other...Such assertions ignore the fact that racism, sexism, and classism constitute three, interdependent control systems. An interactive model, which I have termed multiple jeopardy, better captures those processes.[36]

Kimberle Crenshaw has provided numerous compelling discussions of the radical implications of intersecting oppressions in African-American women's lives, including her pivotal 1989 essay, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex." Grasping the earlier second-wave analysis of "simultaneity" by Barbara Smith and

others in the Combahee River Collective (CRC), Crenshaw offers a potent critique of both mainstream U.S. feminisms and contemporary antiracist politics:

> I argue that black women are sometimes excluded from feminist theory and antiracist policy discourse because both are predicated on a discrete set of experiences that often does not accurately reflect the interaction of race and gender. These problems of exclusion cannot be solved simply by including black women within an already established analytical structure. Because the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism, any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the particular manner in which black women are subordinated.[37]

Political scientist Jane Flax extends the analyses of the CRC, King, and Crenshaw, and argues that a fundamental reason for the recurring failure of the U.S. political system to eliminate race and gender inequalities resides in our flawed understanding of how these principles of organization operate—not only in the lives of African-American women, but in the lives of all inhabitants of the United States:

> First, America's political institutions have depended for their legitimacy on the notion of a particular ideal subject. Despite the surface abstraction, the normative American citizen has always been a white man and, though others have won rights, he remains so...Second, our existing definitions of race and gender are inadequate to grasp their simultaneous, interdependent, and mutually forming effects. To treat race and gender as independent social relations is a persistent error. Some writers claim they can accurately discuss one while, for clarity or simplicity, temporarily placing the other in the background. This inevitably produces a deeply flawed account. In the United States today, there is no ungendered but raced person or gendered but unraced one. Neither race nor gender is extrinsic to the other...Race and gender are not identical, nor can they be reduced to one thing. They are mutually formed, unstable, conflicting, constantly mutating, interdependent, and inseparable processes.[38]

A final justification for this study is intimated in scholarly reflections on the interplay between struggles of urban African-Americans for "civil rights" and Black Power, in the 1970s and 1980s, and the efforts of mainstream elites to retrench social,

political, and economic advances of the 1960s—especially within industries with high concentrations of peoples of color, such as healthcare.[39] Deborah Brown Carter acknowledges the powerful synergy for working-class struggles occasioned by demographic changes and the Civil Rights Movement:

> Since the 1950s the number of women who are labor union members has increased, with growth especially pronounced among African-American and Hispanic women... The explanation for the unionization of African-American women can be found in the changing occupational distribution of women of color...and the Civil Rights Movement. The movement of black women out of agriculture and domestic employment... positioned them to be organized. The Civil Rights Movement then provided the leadership and resources, and defined union organization as one strategy to alleviate racial inequality...The feminization of the labor movement invites a look beyond strictly structural explanations for union growth—such as unionism as a function of the levels of employment, wages, or prices—to a more dynamic analysis that views unionization in the context of the conflict between labor and capital over working conditions and wages. The class struggle, for women of color, must be understood as occurring alongside and overlapping with the struggle against racism and gender exploitation. To understand fully the unionization of this group we must appreciate the interaction of race, class, and gender.[40]

Carter's incisive and underappreciated essay confirms Karen B. Sacks's earlier study of the dynamism between African-American working-class struggles for civic and human rights, on the one hand; and struggles for better conditions in waged work and unions, on the other. Sacks's examination of the role(s) played by black women in the 1970s organizing efforts at Duke Medical Center offers a useful point of departure for understanding the strategies for survival and resistance of black women in Gary, Indiana:

> The civil rights movement heightened black and Hispanic hospital workers' awareness of the racist dimensions of their situation and catalyzed their activism across the nation. In turn and in time their struggles gave the civil rights movement a visible working-class dimension that had been lacking previously. Led by minority service

> workers, hospital unionization drives were broadly based parts of a more general struggle for both racial and economic justice. Although most of the established labor unions and the AFL-CIO gave only grudging and belated support, some unions saw this movement as a chance to put some motion back into an otherwise stale and conservative labor 'movement'.[41]

Summarizing the Study's Significance

The foregoing discussion has presented several strands of an argument that the proposed inquiry into the survival and resistance strategies of black working-class women is a topic worthy of scholarly investigation. Such a premise, however, may not be universally accepted within the fields of political science, women's studies, and labor studies; fields of study which inform this research project. While the exclusions of African-American working-class women within trade union hierarchies may seem evident to some, the extent to which black women have also been silenced and excluded within Afro-American and mainstream feminist struggles may be less apparent. The purpose of this discussion, then, is to explicitly underscore available evidence that the experiences, needs, and activism of Afro-American women have been excluded and silenced in all of these arenas. Such evidence will warrant a case study that can reveal what the proponents of fundamental social change in labor, black liberation and feminist struggles can learn from the workplace and union activism of African-American working-class women.

The theoretical insights of Kimberle Crenshaw provide a particularly useful lens for the elaboration of evidence warranting this study, as this perspective helps us better understand how exclusions of black women have arisen in African-American

struggles for autonomy and inclusion.[42] Crenshaw also sheds light on exclusions of black women in "women's movement" circles.

Crenshaw begins her theoretical critique by acknowledging the persistent and pervasive tendency among U.S. social science scholars and social movement activists to treat principles of social organization as if they operate discretely, or independently of one another within society. This tendency results in the customary adoption of what Crenshaw calls a "single-axis framework."[43] This framework assumes that a single form of discrimination (such as race or gender) is the only form, or the most important, to be fought against by a particular oppressed group. Crenshaw then notes the importance of contrasting this "single-axis" approach with the multidimensionality of black women's lives. This concept of "multidimensionality" enables Crenshaw to express the fact that African-American women have always been subject to multiple forms of discrimination and oppression, not simply race, or gender (sex). By contrasting the single-axis or monist approach with black women's experience(s) of multiple forms of discrimination and oppression, Crenshaw not only challenges us to see how intersecting principles of social organization render black lives more complex. She also indicates how the single-axis framework erases African-American women theoretically:

> With black women as the starting point, it becomes more apparent how dominant conceptions...condition us to think about subordination as disadvantage occurring along a single categorical axis. I want to suggest further that this single-axis framework erases black women in the conceptualization, identification and remediation of race and sex discrimination by limiting inquiry to the experiences of otherwise-privileged members of the group. In other words, in race discrimination cases, discrimination tends to be viewed in terms of sex- or class-

> privileged blacks; in sex discrimination cases, the focus is on race- and class-privileged women. This focus on the most privileged group members marginalizes those who are multiply-burdened and obscures claims that cannot be understood as resulting from discrete sources of discrimination. I suggest further that this focus on otherwise-privileged group members creates a distorted analysis of racism and sexism because the operative conditions of race and sex become grounded in experiences that actually represent only a subset of a much more complex phenomenon.[44]

Two additional points should be made before briefly reviewing African-American struggles that will enable us to more carefully consider the exclusions which black women have weathered. First, the problems of exclusion so often experienced by African-American women cannot be addressed by simply trying to think about how multiple forms of oppression operate in the same social spaces, or by "adding" the perceived burdens of black women in some simple arithmetic fashion. As Crenshaw notes, we must think about the interplay of these principles:

> I argue that black women are sometimes excluded from feminist theory and antiracist policy discourse because both are predicated on a discrete set of experiences that often does not accurately reflect the interaction of race and gender. These problems of exclusion cannot be solved simply by including black women within an already established analytical structure. Because the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism, any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the particular manner in which black women are subordinated. Thus, for feminist theory and antiracist policy discourse to embrace the experiences and concerns of black women, the entire framework that has been used as a basis for translating 'women's experience' or 'the black experience' into concrete policy demands must be rethought and recast.[45]

The second point elaborated by Crenshaw targets the top-down and inherently conservative (rather than radical) nature of the conception and assumptions from which the single-axis approach emerges. This conception is based on a notion that the evil which antidiscrimination law and discourse seek to address is, in Crenshaw's

words, "the use of race or gender factors to interfere with decisions that would otherwise be fair or neutral." In other words, the orientation within which the single-axis approach operates is one designed to maintain the status quo of power relations. Crenshaw explains:

> This process-based definition is not grounded in a bottom-up commitment to improve the substantive conditions for those who are victimized by the interplay of numerous factors. Instead, the dominant message of antidiscrimination law is that it will regulate only the limited extent to which race or sex interferes with the process of determining outcomes. This narrow objective is facilitated by the top-down strategy of using a singular 'but for' analysis to ascertain the effects of race or sex. Because the scope...is so limited, sex and race discrimination have come to be defined in terms of the experiences of those who are privileged *but for* their racial or sexual characteristics. Put differently, the paradigm of sex discrimination tends to be based on the experiences of white women; the model of race discrimination tends to be based on the experiences of the most privileged blacks. Notions of what constitutes race and sex discrimination are, as a result, narrowly tailored to embrace only a small set of circumstances, none of which include discrimination against black women.[46]

An especially useful point of departure for our review of African-American historical experience is to return first to the debate erupting over the Fifteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1870. Returning to this crucial juncture enables us to see how the simultaneous applications of single-axis approaches, in both the political strivings of African-Americans and the "women's" movement, contributed to significant omissions regarding the interests of Afro-American women. The immediate dilemma confronting black leaders and proponents of women's suffrage was the focus on securing the vote for African-American men, but not African-American women. Major activists of black emancipation and uplift such as Frederick Douglass and Frances E. W. Harper found themselves at odds with the

irrepressible Sojourner Truth. Viewing the African-American predicament through a "race-only" lens, the former argued that it was essential for Afro-Americans that the vote be secured by black men. Ironically, Douglass stands out among black males historically because he publicly defined himself as a proponent of both women's rights and race emancipation.[47] That notwithstanding, his position was clearly reflective of a singular focus on the travails of black people as a result of their experiences with race. Johnnetta Betsch Cole and Beverly Guy-Sheftall have captured the contradictoriness of Douglass's position:

> The famous debate between abolitionist Frederick Douglass and white suffragists occurred in New York City in 1869 at the annual convention of the American Equal Rights Association (AERA), which was founded in 1866 to obtain the vote for black men and all women. Douglass argued for the greater urgency of race over gender. He believed it was the 'Negro's hour,' and that women's rights could wait, since linking woman suffrage to Negro suffrage at this historical juncture would seriously reduce the chances of securing the ballot for black men. For black people, Douglass insisted, the ballot was more urgent since it was a matter of life and death. e reiterated that the plight of women (he most assuredly meant white women) and freed persons (men and women) was simply incomparable in his eloquent and riveting litany of the differences between being back and being female in America.... [48]

Cole and Guy-Sheftall further underscore the seductive power of the "race-only" lens by reflecting on the stances of Frances E.W. Harper and Sojourner Truth:

> Frances E. W. Harper, a prominent black abolitionist, suffragist, and writer, supported Douglass, while Sojourner Truth supported white suffragists, believing that if black men got the vote, they would continue to dominate black women. In a speech at the same 1869 meeting, Harper argued for greater urgency of the struggle against racism: 'When it was a question of race, she [Harper] let the lesser question of sex go....' Two years earlier, Sojourner Truth, speaking at the 1867 meeting of the AERA, articulated her fears about black men getting the vote: 'There is a great stir about colored men getting their rights, but not a word about the colored women; and if colored men get their rights, and not colored women get

> theirs, there will be a bad time about it.' Granting political rights to black women would alter existing power imbalances between them and their men, Truth believed: 'When we get our rights, we shall not have to come to you for money...You have been having our right so long, that you think, like a slaveholder, that you own us.' [49]

To adequately appreciate the political importance attached to the suffrage debate by women and men in the second half of the 19th century, it may be useful to reflect upon the insights of white feminist and political theorist, Nancie Caraway. Caraway discerns, as some others have not, the hopes of the political moment for a united front:

> Having benefited from the discussions on the legal urgency of suffrage for blacks at the war's end, feminists of both races were convinced that suffrage was the key to the legal position of women as well. They devised an agenda focusing on convincing their allies to advocate woman suffrage along with black suffrage (the common meaning of which was 'black male suffrage') as the foundation of Reconstruction. The organizational culmination of this strategy resulted in the formation of the American Equal Rights Association (ERA) in 1866, with Stanton, Anthony, Frederick Douglass, and the black feminist activist Frances Ellen Watkins Harper as officers.... But it was an alliance unable to survive the crucible of post-Civil War racism. [50]

Here it is especially important to understand that white feminists had channeled most of their energies into initiatives to help the Union cause. They expected their "allies" in the Republican Party to reward their efforts by supporting women's suffrage once the war had been won. Yet the Republicans did not support women's suffrage, but explicitly supported black male suffrage. This had precipitated a situation in which people were being forced to choose to support black men, or "all" women. Yet because African-American women had never been represented as being equal to white women, to speak of "suffrage for women" actually meant suffrage for white women. Once white feminists discerned the political dilemma before them, some saw no way

out except to choose their "gender." In this instance, then, the choice to support the "gender" demands of (white) women seemed—at least to some—to lead ineluctably to racist opposition of black (male) suffrage. The racist response by Elizabeth Cady Stanton provoked profound feelings of betrayal among many, as intimated by Caraway:

> Stanton's public speeches embodied a tone of vitriolic white supremacy; she scapegoated black men and women, 'Sambo and Dinah,' children of mere 'bootblacks and gardeners,' who were not fit to share citizenship with 'the daughters of Jefferson and Washington.' And her words were dangerously close to those which were inciting a lynching furor against black men, in suggesting that the black male vote would lead to violence against white women. Stanton threatened that the vote would create 'an antagonism between black men and all women that will culminate in fearful outrages on womanhood, especially in the Southern states.' [51]

Admittedly, to adequately assess the meaning of these different views for the long trek of African-American political history is not easy in 2004. Cole and Guy-Sheftall , however, invite us to consider the instructive and sobering insights of historian Darlene Clark Hine:

> She argues that with few exceptions, black women and men certainly applauded the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment, but that 'inauspiciously, this amendment in some ways cemented a gender breach in black culture,' because it created a fundamental inequality between black men and women. 'Once black men gained the right to vote,' Hine reminds us, 'black women had no alternative but to advance group as opposed to individual interests.' Hine argues that what was perhaps even more problematic from black women's perspectives was that this differential power base 'allowed black men the latitude to determine the public agenda in the struggle against racism.' In other words, the political agendas of black women could be ignored entirely or relegated to the back burner.[52]

The insights offered by Hine, Cole, and Guy-Sheftall help us to understand how the narrowness of the single-axis approach could contribute to the reinforcement

of male-centeredness as a characteristic impediment of African-American culture. Eleanor Flexner and Ellen Fitzpatrick highlight the immediate consequence of the divisive debates in the post-slavery period:

> The men had political freedom, to the extent that it could be explicitly stated in a constitutional amendment, but they were not allowed to exercise it except during the turbulent Reconstruction era. However, they benefited from the dominant pattern set by white society, which decreed that opportunity, or what little there was of it, should go first of all to the man or boy. Many a male Negro received education or a start in a craft or small business because of the laborious efforts of the woman in the household over the washtub or ironing board....[53]

Although African-American women now had to deal with the recurring problems of male-centeredness and a race-only outlook, they were not entirely undone. On the contrary, black women found various ways to navigate the chilly waters of male domination in constructing political strategies and activism for African-American communities. Historian Elsa Barkley Brown notes that although black women in a number of areas of the post-Civil War South (most notably Richmond, Virginia) may have had to confront an official arena of electoral politics in which they could not vote; they nonetheless acted as political agents, with their own conceptions of politics and their own innovative tactics:

> A thorough effort to uncover evidence of southern black women's political behavior during the latter half of the nineteenth century is vitally needed. In addition, there is a need to develop an interpretive framework consistent with the alternative economic, institutional, and cultural worldview of freed people...The Reconstruction Act of 1867 required all the former Confederate states, except Tennessee, to hold constitutional conventions. black men were enfranchised for the delegate selection and ratification ballots. In Virginia, Republican ward clubs elected delegates to the party's state convention, where a platform was to be adopted. On 1 August, the day the Republican state convention opened in Richmond, thousands of African-American men, women, and children absented

> themselves from their employment and joined the delegates at the convention site, the First African Baptist Church. Tobacco factories, lacking a major portion of their workers, were forced to close for the day. This pattern persisted whenever a major issue came before the state and city Republican conventions held during the summer and fall of 1867 or the state constitutional convention that convened in Richmond from December 1867 to March 1868. A New York Times reporter...reported: 'As is usual on such occasions, families which employ servants were forced to cook their own dinners, or content themselves with a cold lunch. Not only had Sambo gone to the convention, but Dinah was there also.'[54]

Barkley Brown's insights do not negate the gravity of the race-only and male-centered dynamics in the emergent political culture of African-Americans. Rather, they indicate the seriousness with which newly-emancipated Afro-Americans sought to address issues of political import to themselves and their communities. Brown's historical and political insights also reveal the fact that black women saw themselves as necessary political actors who, even without the suffrage, intended to voice their visions for a better and brighter day. These positive factors notwithstanding, the "gender breach" to which Darlene Clark Hine has referred has continually acted as a corrosive in African-American life and politics, consuming valuable energies that might have been used more productively if not for this recurring problem.

Contemporary U.S. history provides us with no more dramatic examples of the destructive impact of the race-only viewpoint than those to which we can turn during the African-American social movement struggles of the 1960s and 1970s. Without a doubt, the firestorms of activism demonstrated the prodigious power of African-American struggles to (1) challenge existing "race relations," (2) create new political "subjects," (3) expand the existing terrain of political struggle, and (4) engender a range of "new social movements."[55] Yet the singularity of theoretical and political

focus upon race helped to undermine the capacity of Afro-Americans and their allies to deepen and consolidate political victories achieved during the "Civil Rights" and "Black Power" stages of African-American struggle. This is to say that the focus upon race and racism often acted to obscure the existence of other principles of organization operating within black lives in U.S. society. Perhaps even more disorienting and insidious, the obscuring of other important principles of organization and oppression undermined the ability of activists and theorists to adequately understand how race and racialization have shaped, and have been shaped by, gender, sexuality, and class. Such profound limitations not only retarded the radicalization of activists and activism itself, but they also contributed to tensions, schisms, and wounds that have remained unhealed.

One can begin to grasp the corrosive impact of the "race-only" orientation by considering how it shaped, or misshaped, the 1963 March on Washington. This critical political mobilization, which might have contributed to more effective consolidation of activities and activists already set in motion, instead generated a noticeable and ill-conceived marginalization of African-American women from leadership. Cole and Guy-Sheftall provide a vivid account of one woman's remembrances:

> In her 1964 autobiography, *The Trumpet Sounds*, Anna Arnold Hedgeman describes her feelings about the male-dominant civil rights leadership and her experiences as the only woman on the planning committee for the March..., which was the brainchild of A. Philip Randolph, founder of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (1925) and, at age seventy-four, chair of the Negro American Labor Council. When Hedgeman discovered that women were not speaking on the program, she wrote a letter to Randolph in which she emphasized black women's important roles in the civil rights

> movement. She also argued that 'since the Big Six had not given women the equality of participation which they had earned through the years,' it was even more imperative that black women be allowed to speak. By the 'Big Six,' as this elite group was popularly known, she meant the male leadership of the civil rights movement—A. Philip Randolph, Martin Luther King, Jr. (SCLC), Roy Wilkins (NAACP), John Lewis or James Forman (SNCC), James Farmer (CORE), and Whitney Young (National Urban League). The patriarchal response of the architects of the march was to allow the wives of the civil rights leaders and a few other black women freedom fighters to sit on the dais. A hastily planned 'Tribute to Women' was added to the agenda. It included Rosa Parks, Daisey Bates, Diane Nash, and Gloria Richardson, who were introduced but were not allowed to speak or even march in the vanguard with the male leaders. None of the movement women, some of whom had risked their lives, was invited to the White House to meet with President Kennedy following the march.[56]

It is important to emphasize that the decision to not have any women speak at the march was not a mere personal oversight to which a number of women seem to have overreacted. This decision was a political act which served to present those who were being defined as legitimate representatives of African-American people. By publicly acknowledging certain "leaders" as "in," other leaders were, by default, left "out" of the circle. This meant that the views and demands articulated by the acknowledged "leaders" would be the agenda items to be thrashed out with political and economic representatives of the status quo. The political omission of women also sent a message to African-Americans that issues not being raised by the "leaders" might be important, but they were not being considered "primary." This decision looms as extremely poor political judgment in retrospect, because despite the fact that the most visible and vocal leadership may have appeared to be male; "the backbone of the civil rights movement," was really women and youth.[57] Certainly, this decision did little to engender good will throughout the ranks of social movement with people

to whom the "leaders" would have to return in order to advance movement activities. Yet the decision also revealed certain deeply-held concerns of many African-American men—and some African-American women. Social theorist bell hooks has written quite candidly that:

> Black leaders, male and female, have been unwilling to acknowledge black male sexist oppression of black women because they do not want to acknowledge that racism is not the only oppressive force in our lives. Nor do they wish to complicate efforts to resist racism by acknowledging that black men can be victimized by racism but at the same time act as sexist oppressors of black women. Consequently there is little acknowledgement of sexist oppression in black male/female relationships as a serious problem...Just as 19th century black male leaders felt that it was important that all black men show themselves willing to be protectors and providers of their women as a sign to the white race that they would tolerate no more denial of their masculine privilege, 20th century black male leaders used this same tactic. Marcus Garvey, Elijah Muhammed, Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, Amiri Baraka and other black male leaders have righteously supported patriarchy. They have all argued that it is absolutely necessary for black men to relegate black women to a subordinate position both in the political sphere and in home life.[58]

The writings and activism of a number of African-American women in the early 1970s provided excellent critiques of the theoretical and political barrenness of black patriarchal pleadings. These works would also differentiate the concerns of African-American women from those of representatives of the mainly white, middle-class, and heterosexual "women's" movement.[59] Guy-Sheftall explains:

> The publication in 1970 of Toni Cade's *The Black Woman: An Anthology*, Shirley Chisholm's autobiography *Unbought and Unbossed*, Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye*, and Audre Lorde's *Cables to Rage* signaled a literary awakening among black women and the beginning of a clearly defined black women's liberation movement that would have priorities different from those of white feminists, and generate considerable debate, even hostility, within the black community. Cade's antiracist, antisexist, anti-imperialist agenda captures the essence of contemporary black feminism: conduct a comparative study of women's roles in the Third World; debunk myths of the black matriarch and 'the evil black bitch;'

> study black women's history and honor women warriors such as Harriet Tubman and Fannie Lou Hamer; do oral histories of ordinary black women (migrant workers, quilters, UNIA grandmothers); study sexuality; establish linkages with other women of color globally....[60]

Guy-Sheftall also acknowledges the critical response made by activist Frances Beale's essay, "Double Jeopardy: To Be black and Female," to the disturbingly backward notions being advanced by certain "nationalist" voices within the black community. Underscoring the immense contributions of Cade's anthology, Guy-Sheftall notes:

> The anthology includes SNCC activist Frances Beale's pioneering essay on the double jeopardy of black women, which highlights their sexual and economic exploitation, the inappropriateness of white models of womanhood, black male sexism, sterilization abuse of women of color globally, abortion rights, and Sojourner Truth's 1851 women's rights speech. Beale also voices her disapproval of black nationalist demands that women be to men and their assumption that women's most important contribution to the revolution is having babies: 'To assign women the role of housekeeper and mother while men go forth into battle is a highly questionable doctrine to maintain'....[61]

Lest there be any doubt about the conditions within black struggles and communities to which Beale, Cade, and others felt the need to respond, consider the following comments made by Cade shortly before the publication of her anthology:

> In 1969, political activist-writer Toni Cade delivered a lecture to the Rutgers University's Livingston College's black Woman Seminar in which she called attention to black nationalist demands that women be subservient to men and warned black women to be aware: "There is a dangerous trend...to program Sapphire out of her 'evil' ways into a cover-up, shut-up, lay-back-and-be-cool obedience role. She is being assigned an unreal role of mute servant that supposedly neutralizes the acidic tension that exists between black men and black women. She is being encouraged—in the name of the revolution no less—to cultivate 'virtues' that if listed would sound like the personality traits of slaves.[62]

Even as African-American women's voices were gathering strength and rising in a crescendo of self-affirmation, a number of African-American men were

continuing to make their cases for a blacker and better patriarchy. Echoing Cade (Bambara), Cole and Guy-Sheftall revisit the exclusionary ideals put forward by Imamu Baraka:

> Imamu Amiri Baraka (formerly LeRoi Jones), one of the most influential architects and spokespersons for militant black nationalism during the mid and late sixties, articulates its philosophy of black familyhood within the context of 'nation building' in an essay written for *Black World* in 1970. His analysis of an African-derived ideology of complementarity between the sexes is remarkably reminiscent, ironically, of nineteenth-century Euro-American notions of a benevolent patriarchy based on normative definitions of manhood and womanhood: [W]e do not believe in equality of men and women....we could never be equals...nature has not provided thus....we will complement each other...There is no house without a man and his wife...When we say complement, completes, we mean that we have certain functions which are more natural to us, and you have certain graces that are yours alone. We say that a black woman must first be able to inspire her man, then she must be able to teach our children, and contribute to the social development of the nation.[63]

We end our very cursory reflections on the silences and exclusions of African-American women in African-American communities, movements, and mobilizations by revisiting the debacle emerging around Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas several years ago. While these highly publicized hearings underscore the tragic "gender breach" to which Darlene Clark Hine has referred, they also provide a useful segue to a brief look at how black women have been excluded by white women focused singularly on "gender."

The continuing preoccupation of many African-Americans with race has all too often spawned an intense refusal to publicly air disagreements and disputes regarding painful issues emerging within black communities. Rooted in earlier periods during which the lives, culture, and politics of African-Americans were largely segregated matters, this refusal to engage in discussion deemed "to air dirty laundry"

before a white society that seems hostile and/or indifferent becomes extremely adamant around taboo matters involving gender or sexuality. Cole and Guy-Sheftall write with candor and courage about this dynamic as it played out in the Hill-Thomas affair:

> There is no incident in the history of African-Americans that illustrates more clearly how vehemently blacks (across class, gender, and region) are opposed to sharing racial secrets than their opposition to Anita Hill's exposure of Clarence Thomas's alleged sexually inappropriate conduct...When black women 'break the silence' about our experiences with black men, especially sexual ones, there is intense anger in our communities. In other words, racial disloyalty is a more serious transgression when black women expose black men. Black feminist social critic and historian of science Evelynn Hammonds notes: 'Black women must always put duty to the race first. No mention was made of how Clarence Thomas had failed in his duty to the race, especially to black women. This deeply held ethic that black women have a duty to the race while black men are allowed to have a duty only to themselves can only be challenged by a black feminist analysis that emphasizes the importance of black women's lives.'[64]

Evelynn Hammonds's words point out the fact that African-American culture and politics have yet to make space for open discussion of the experiences of black women as seen by black women themselves. This tendency toward silence regarding the lived experiences of black women is directly linked to continuing difficulties amongst Afro-Americans to see that (1) race operates in conjunction with other principles of social organization and oppression [such as gender and sexuality] in all of the social and institutional spaces that Afro-Americans inhabit; and (2) there are many complex way[s] in which African-American experiences of race are shaped, or mediated, by the particular mix and manifestation of other principles within concrete circumstances. The situations change continuously. Yet Hammonds is asserting that whatever the

circumstances, African-American women's lives are important in their own rights and warrant political and theoretical examination—not as extensions or "epiphenomena" of other socio-political actors, but as lives of autonomous human beings who are also members of oppressed communities.

Black feminist Hazel V. Carby echoes, and extends, the concerns articulated by Hammonds and others in her often-cited essay, *White Woman Listen! Black Feminism and the Boundaries of Sisterhood.* Carby provides an eloquent statement of concerns black feminists, including many from the United States, have repeatedly raised to Euro-American women (and men):

> The black women's critique of history has not only involved us in coming to terms with 'absences;' we have also been outraged by the ways in which it has made us visible, when it has chosen to see us. History has constructed our sexuality and our femininity as deviating from those qualities with which white women, as the prize objects of the Western world, have been endowed. We have also been defined in less than human terms. Our continuing struggle with *his*tory began with its "discovery" of us...We wish to address questions to the feminist theories which have been developed during the last decade; a decade in which black women have been fighting, in the streets, in the schools, through the courts, inside and outside the wage relation...It is fundamental to the development of a feminist theory and practice that is meaningful for black women. We cannot hope to reconstitute ourselves in all our absences, or to rectify the ill-concealed presences that invade herstory from history, but we do wish to bear witness to our own herstories. The connection between these and the herstories of white women will be made and remade in struggle. black women have come from Africa, Asia and the Caribbean and we cannot do justice to all their herstories...What we will do is to offer ways in which the 'triple' oppression of gender, race, and class can be understood, in its specificity and also as it determines the lives of black women.[65]

Carby echoes many African-American women in arguing that the feminisms of most white U.S. feminists have not sufficiently theorized the experiences of black women. In making her argument, she reprises the voices of the Combahee River Collective,

one of the most theoretically and politically developed groupings of black women to evolve in the 1970s:

> In arguing that most contemporary feminist theory does not begin to adequately account for the experience of black women we also have to acknowledge that it is not a simple question of their absence, consequently the task is not one of rendering their visibility. On the contrary we will have to argue that the process of accounting for their historical and contemporary position does, in itself, challenge the use of some of the central categories and assumptions of recent mainstream feminist thought. We can point to no single source for our oppression. When white feminists emphasize patriarchy alone, we want to redefine the term and make it a more complex concept. Racism ensures that black men do not have the same relations to patriarchal/capitalist hierarchies as white men. In the words of the Combahee River Collective: We believe that sexual politics under patriarchy is as pervasive in black women's lives as are the politics of class and race. We also often find it difficult to separate race from class from sex oppression because in our lives they are most often experienced simultaneously. We know that there is such a thing as racial-sexual oppression which is neither solely racial nor solely sexual e.g. the history of rape of black women by white men as a weapon of political repression. Although we are feminists and lesbians, we feel solidarity with progressive black men and do not advocate the fractionalization that white women who are separatists demand. Our situation as black people necessitates that we have solidarity around the fact of race, which white women of course do not need to have with white men, unless it is their negative solidarity as racial oppressors. We struggle together with black men against racism, while we also struggle with black men about sexism.[66]

The critical insights advanced by Carby do not hint of any of the chauvinism sometimes expressed (historically and contemporarily) by black activists and theorists focused on the autonomous organization of people(s) of African descent. Instead, Carby speaks with a desire to inform the continuing struggles of women with the theory and politics of black feminists.

> It is only in the writings by black feminists that we can find attempts to theorize the interconnection of class, gender and race as it occurs in our lives, and it has only been in the autonomous organizations of black women that we have been able to express and act upon the experiences

> consequent upon these determinants. Many black women have been alienated by the non-recognition of their lives, experiences and herstories in the women's liberation movement (WLM). Black feminists have been, and are still, demanding that the existence of racism must be acknowledged as a structuring feature of our relationships with white women. Both white feminist theory and practice have to recognize that white women stand in a power relation as oppressors of black women. This compromises any feminist theory and practice founded on the notion of simple equality. [67]

Despite the obduracy evident in the persistent self-delusions of white feminists with their whiteness, the criticisms of black feminists (and those of other U.S. third world feminists) have not been ignored by all white feminists in the United States. One of the most lucid and intrepid critics of the racism anchoring the single-axis orientation on gender has been white feminist philosopher Elizabeth V. Spelman. Spelman's work during the past three decades has stood as a beacon to white feminists as well as a source of hope for women "of color." Her essays, and her classic volume, *Inessential Woman: Problems of Exclusion in Feminist Thought*, provide painstaking analyses of the theoretical exclusions of women of color in much contemporary feminist theory. Consider the following:

> [W]e have examined how attempts to focus on gender in isolation from other aspects of identity such as race and class can work to obscure the effect race, class, and gender have on each other. In particular, we've looked at how gender can be treated in a way that obscures the race and class identity of privileged women—for example, of contemporary white middle-class women or the free women of ancient Greece—and simultaneously makes it hard to conceive of women who are not of that particular class and race as 'women.' Precisely insofar as a discussion of gender and gender relations is really, even if obscurely, about a particular group of women and their relation to a particular group of men, it is unlikely to be applicable to any other group of women. At the same time, the particular race and class identity of those referred to simply as 'women' becomes explicit when we see the inapplicability of statements about 'women' to women who are not of that race or class.[68]

Spelman has clearly recognized that if social change agents are to break the intellectual and ideological bonds of single-axis approaches, they must rethink the ways in which principles of social organization and oppression conjoin in everyday life situations.

> It is not easy to think about gender, race, and class in ways that don't obscure or underplay their effects on one another. The crucial question is how the links between them are conceived. So, for example, we see that de Beauvoir tends to talk about comparisons between sex and race, or between sex and class, or between sex and culture; she describes what she takes to be comparisons between sexism and racism, between sexism and classism, between sexism and anti-Semitism. In the work of Chodorow and others influenced by her, we observe a readiness to look for links between sexism and other forms of oppression depicted as distinct from sexism. In both examples, we find an additive analysis of the various elements of identity and various forms of oppression: there's sex and race and class; there's sexism and racism and classism. In both examples, attempts to bring in elements of identity other than gender, to being in kinds of oppression other than sexism, still have the effect of obscuring the race and class identity of those described as 'women,' still make it hard to see how women not of a particular race and class can be included in the description. [69]

Spelman has distinguished her work from that of many other white feminists by emerging as one of the most incisive to question the limitations of additive thinking. She also offers a keen understanding of the political destructiveness that has followed throughout U.S. history in the wake of wrongheaded feminist theory.

> As has often been pointed out, what have been called the first and second waves of the women's movement in the United States followed closely on the heels of women's involvement in the nineteenth-century abolitionist movement and the twentieth-century civil rights movement. In both centuries, challenges to North American racism served as an impetus to, and model for, the feminist attack on sexist institutions, practices, and ideology. But this is not to say that all antiracists were antisexists, or that all antisexists were antiracists. Indeed, many abolitionists of the nineteenth century and civil rights workers of the twentieth did not take sexism seriously, and we continue to learn about the sad, bitter, and

> confusing history of women who in fighting hard for feminist ends did not take racism seriously. Recent feminist theory has not totally ignored white racism, though white feminists have paid much less attention to it than have black feminists. Much of feminist theory has reflected and contributed to what Adrienne Rich has called 'white solipsism:' the tendency 'to think, imagine, and speak as if whiteness described the world.' White solipsism is not the consciously held belief that one race is inherently superior to all others, but a tunnel-vision which simply does not see nonwhite experience or existence as precious or significant, unless in spasmodic, impotent guilt-reflexes, which have little or no long-term, continuing momentum or political usefulness.[70]

Spelman's relentless logic is tragically confirmed by political scientist Janet A. Flammang in her 1997 volume, *Women's Political Voice: How Women Are Transforming the Practice and Study of Politics*. In a brief, yet instructive, look at the case of Aileen Hernandez's experience with NOW, Flammang provides grim witness to the contemporary criticisms of feminists of color:

> The case of Aileen Hernandez illustrated women of color's dissatisfaction with NOW. A black woman and NOW founder, she had been a civil rights activist, an organizer for the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, and a commissioner for the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. In 1970, she replaced Betty Friedan as NOW president. In a 1979 interview, Hernandez discussed how she and other black women had organized a NOW minority task force to assess minority women's relationship with NOW. Their report made several recommendations, including the need to address issues of concern to minorities, but subsequent action by NOW was sorely lacking: 'NOW has been silent on almost any issue that deals with the inequity of society more than the inequity of being female. [NOW] cannot afford the luxury of a single issue focus—even when that issue was as important as the ERA.' Hernandez criticized NOW's 'totally inappropriate approach' of sponsoring chapters in minority communities rather than dealing with minority issues, which she interpreted as attempting to 'indoctrinate minority women' on the ERA rather than attracting them to common issues. At NOW's 1979 national convention, an all-white group of officers was elected for the second straight year, although a black woman who had headed the minority task force was running for a position. Hernandez accused NOW of being 'too white and middle-class' and sponsored a resolution saying blacks should quit NOW or refrain from

> joining the group until it confronted its own racism and that of the larger society.[71]

We conclude this discussion of exclusions of African-American women within white feminist theory, struggles, and organizations with the advice of Nancie Caraway. Looking toward the actualization of genuinely democratic politics capable of including a broad spectrum of women and feminisms, Caraway has offered the following thoughtful suggestions:

> To enact the democratic crossover potential, white feminists need to keep alive a politics of memory. This narrative would relate the stories of segregated sisterhood, reinforcing our accountability for those silences which denied the feminist spirit of countless poor, working-class, lesbian, black, and other women of color. For feminist theorists, intriguing philosophical challenges abound—contestations and reflections on subjectivity, power, and experience promise important oppositional insights...But when we are performing as theorists, we ought not to overestimate the significance of the symbolic. Bernice Reagon's insistent voice brings us back to our materialist imperative as activists to continue 'to deliver the goods of survival in a society that does not know how big we are and how much room we need to stand to our full height.' And what of our obligations to enhance feminist movement building? The white civil rights/feminist activist Mary King asks, 'If SNCC could thrust up Fannie Lou Hamer, the twentieth child in a family of uneducated sharecroppers and the granddaughter of a slave, as its standard-bearer, why can't the women's movement deliver a union leader from a canning plant, a farmer, or a textile worker among its spokeswomen?'[72]

The foregoing discussion has suggested that this inquiry's focus on the activism of Gary women healthcare workers is significant for several interrelated reasons. First, this inquiry may help redirect scholarly attention to the political activism of working-class women. Second, such an inquiry may help reorient efforts to understand African-American life today by illuminating some unique ways in which black working-class women have experienced, and responded to,

deindustrialization and restructuring. Third, the study can help reemphasize the need for feminist analyses of black life and politics that are anchored by awareness of simultaneous oppressions. Fourth, the study can elaborate the need for political science studies that interrogate the ways multiple and simultaneous oppressions mutually intersect and interact to shape contemporary working-class options in the United States. Fifth, such a study can help to illuminate the confluent effects of the Civil Rights Movement; the retrenchment efforts of the new right, neoconservatives, and neoliberals; and the increasing participation of African-American women in a U.S. economy being restructured to neoliberal designs.

Expectations of the Study

Given the foregoing discussion of the significance of this research investigation, the following findings seem reasonable expectations of the study:

1. that the activism of the African-American women healthcare workers addressed pressing concerns (such as the need for health insurance, opposition to racism, and better care for the sick and elderly) felt not only by healthcare workers, but also by other members of the African-American community of Gary, Indiana;

2. that the activism of the women workers was spurred by a convergence of their conditions of race, gender, and class oppression, and not merely by any single form;

3. that the women held perceptions of their lives, labors, and capacities to resist unjust workplace conditions that were at times different from perceptions other workers held regarding themselves within the same workplaces (including black men, white women, and white men)—workers who were (and are positioned differently within the existing hierarchies of class, race, and gender;

4. that the women workers often understood themselves, their labors, and their abilities to resist quite differently from the ways in which representatives of healthcare management understood them;

5. that the women's understandings of their individual life experiences often privileged the impact of race over that of other principles of social organization and oppression such as gender and class;

6. that despite the commonalities of their experiences as black women, and as workers, the subjects of the study at times held varying notions of the relative importance of race, gender, and class in their lives;

7. that the competing duties, expectations, and responsibilities of the women at work and at home sometimes exerted contradictory effects (sometimes constraining, and sometimes facilitating) on their abilities to act in the arenas of waged and unwaged work;

8. that the women's understandings of unionism suggest a broader and more inclusive conception of trade unionism than conceptions typically espoused by official representatives of "organized" labor.

9. that the women's daily workplace lives were characterized by ideas and actions of compliance and resistance;

10. that the women's understanding of unionism and workplace solidarity was heavily influenced by the Civil Rights and Black Power strivings of their time.

Emergent Black Power and Resilient White Privilege: Unplugging the Promise of Gary

Founded in 1903 by the U.S. Steel Corporation, Gary, Indiana, is widely recognized as a strategic site for the development of the steel industry in the "heartland" of the United States. More recently, Gary has been acclaimed as a critical site for the trade unionist interventions of African-American workers in the development of the United Steelworkers of America.[73] The city also has had the distinction of being an important venue for the Black Power strivings of African-Americans during the early 1970s.[74] Yet prior to 1967, when Gary's Richard Hatcher (along with Carl Stokes of Cleveland, Ohio) became the first African-American mayor

of "a significantly-sized American city," Gary's reputation as a pivotal site of Black Power strivings would have seemed unimaginable to all but a few visionaries. Indeed, Gary and its predominantly African-American population were to pay an inordinately high price for the efforts of blacks seeking greater political autonomy and inclusion for themselves.[75] Racially hostile reactions of whites in the city and region were to result in one of the most dramatic and bizarre racial backlashes of post-WWII urban history.[76] Moreover, a number of blacks who had initially supported Hatcher fell away during the course of his arduous efforts to guide the political fortunes of Gary. Despite the tempestuous straits navigated by Hatcher and his supporters, however; Prof. James B. Lane summarized the post-Civil Rights and post-Black Power years of Gary, Indiana, historian James B. Lane by arguing in 1976 that "as Gary celebrated its 70th anniversary during America's bicentennial year, the city was probably less polluted, better governed, less a pawn of U.S. Steel, and more responsive to the needs of black people than at any point in its history."[77] Notwithstanding this evaluation by one of Indiana's most progressive white historians, the largely African-American city of Gary was precariously poised to begin its descent into what might be called a "nadir" for its expectant population.

During the early 1960s, when central cities across the country were beginning to prepare development plans to offset the emerging national trend of suburbanization, Gary planners seemed oblivious to the signs of the times. With its extensive array of steel mills still booming, city fathers presumably believed that good economic times would continue into the foreseeable future.[78]

The city was not home to most of its African-American inhabitants, however; having a substantial history of segregation and subjugation to demeaning social and economic status.[79] Soon the rising national tide of African-American struggles for inclusion, autonomy, and transformation were being reflected in the efforts of Gary residents; as Gary's blacks grew restive to increase their inclusion in city politics and address the pressing needs for "neighborhood revitalization, for open housing, for improvements to social services."[80] Similarly fed up with an experience of being excluded and dominated during decades of white ethnic control and racial conflict between white and black workers, Gary's working-class blacks heartily joined hands to establish a new day in city politics. Despite numerous "dirty tricks" and bouts with anti-black violence, Hatcher and his supporters were victorious in capturing the reins of the "city of steel."[81]

The euphoria of blacks and their allies lasted for only a short while in Gary. The initial gap which had developed early in the Hatcher community campaign between white businessmen and Hatcher, now widened beyond reasonable bounds. Despite the considerable efforts made by Hatcher to bring whites into his administration and monies into the city, his detractors were legion. While Hatcher and an expectant African-American population saw Gary as a "City on the Move," detractors stood the slogan on its head to denote, and promote, White flight, disinvestment by whites, and any pretense for denigrating the strivings of black to effectively wield political power.[82] Professor Lane's analysis is instructive:

> He brought whites into his administration who shared his agenda, and expressed hope that Gary could remain a multi-racial city; but, like most

> first-generation black mayors, he feuded frequently with local and state officials whom he perceived as racists. He obtained a lion's share of federal funds for Gary, but opponents thought much was wasted on projects of debatable merit. The Hatcher years were tumultuous but not riotous, in part because the Mayor brought disaffected blacks into the political system to test the system's efficacy for achieving black liberation... Some claim he paid too little attention to downtown urban renewal projects until it was too late, but his constituents had not elected him to build edifices inaccessible to ghetto residents, so it was hardly surprising that his anti-poverty programs were mainly targeted for impoverished black neighborhoods. At any rate, when he did turn to downtown projects, the power structure reacted apathetically, and even negatively.[83]

Professor Catlin provides stern corroboration for Lane's objective historical and political insights:

> Between 1968 and 1977, urban renewal, along with the Model Cities program, the 'War on Poverty,' and other federal aid efforts, was channeled into the Midtown and Small Farms areas, both part of the historic center of Gary's black community. With promises that all new construction would be for present neighborhood residents, almost 2,900 housing units were demolished, and by 1977, only 476 new ones were built on the renewal sites, including 220 units of public housing. During 1972 alone, over $18 million was expended, with 40 percent spent for 'male work' youth programs...In 1971, Mayor Hatcher was opposed by Dr. Andrew Williams, Jr., a prominent black physician who was then the Lake County Coroner.... Williams was covertly backed by downtown businessmen who welcomed his moderate approach, but Mayor Hatcher defeated him, winning over 60 percent of all votes cast. After Williams's defeat, downtown businessmen responded by announcing plans for two huge enclosed shopping malls totaling over 1 million square feet. Both were to be located in suburban Merrillville, fifteen miles from downtown Gary. By 1978, the three anchor department stores and over one hundred retail establishments in downtown had either closed altogether or moved to the new malls and nearby strip centers, taking their tax dollars with them.[84]

Having broadly sketched the battle lines of the political agenda of the Hatcher administration for its African-American constituents and allies; it is necessary to consider the importance of Richard Hatcher and Gary in the context of embattled Black Power

nationally. It is a most troubling and telling twist of African-American political fortunes that while the vast majority of blacks were working-class in the late 1960s and 1970s; the largest political assembly of blacks ever assembled in the United States failed to adequately address their most pressing needs. This political convention was held in Gary, Indiana, on March 10-11 of 1972.[85]

This dissertation proposal is not intended to provide a full analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of the Gary Convention. Nevertheless, some evaluative comments are in order, because the inability of this convention to adequately address certain evident and systemic problems facing African-Americans generally—and black workers in particular—contributed to the disappointing outcomes of the convention. And one of the most troubling outcomes was that for all their hopes of participating in a collective process of constructing vehicles for liberation, many African-Americans found it necessary to return home with diminished hopes for a consolidated movement. Thus, they had to continue to craft local strategies which they hoped would help them survive and resist within the worsening conditions of the period. As to the contributions of this watershed event to a progressive national agenda, Manning Marable's reflections are noteworthy:

> What was particularly important about Gary was the political tone of black nationalism which filled the convention hall, and affected the policies and even the rhetoric of all... For the moment, the nationalists were in control of the black movement, a fact of political life that many...like Hatcher astutely recognized. The National Black Political Assembly was a marriage of convenience between the aspiring and somewhat radicalized black petty bourgeoisie and the black nationalist movement. Gary represented, in retrospect, the zenith not only of black nationalism, but of the entire black movement during the Second Reconstruction. The collective vision of the convention represented a desire to seize electoral

> control of America's major cities, to move the black masses from the politics of desegregation to the politics of real empowerment, ultimately to create their own independent black political party. What almost no nationalists and only a few black Elected Officials [BEOs] recognized before maneuvering for political power were the many structural crises which confronted America's major cities. A decade before Black Power assumed an electoral form in the campaigns to win public offices for blacks, urban metropolitan centers were faced with a series of fiscal problems which white mayors and city councils had left unresolved. Millions of white upper-to-middle-class families had fled the central cities.... Thus the BEOs were faced with the task of providing immediate and tangible benefits to their black and liberal white constituencies, while the governmental terrain upon which they operated had become quicksand.[86]

In part, the result of weaknesses and silences characteristic of the existing leadership of black nationalists and black elected officials; in part the result of the retrenchment-in-formation; the Gary Convention proved a missed opportunity of enormous political and social proportions. The tragedy of the Gary Convention resided in its failure to meet the collective expectations of those who had hoped that the Convention would result in a strategic direction, and practical tactics, for the future of the Black Revolution. Historian and theologian Vincent Harding offered what may have been a prophetic assessment:

> When we all gathered at Gary, many persons instinctively seemed to sense something of the powerful meaning of the last words of the preamble to the convention's declaration: 'We stand on the edge of history. We cannot turn back'.... Instead, in response to the most fundamental challenging calls of the convention's black agenda, many persons turned back to politics-as-usual, turned aside to the demands of self-interest, or wandered off into unclear, necessarily solitary ways, searching for their own best responses to the new time.[87]

For all of his vision and organizational skill in helping to construct the Gary Convention, Richard Hatcher could not escape the structural crises of urban centers which contributed to public policy proposals leading to eventual restructuring.[88] He could also not escape the ways in which these crises were refracted and interpreted through prevailing

assessments based on the confluent factors of race, gender, and class privilege. The unearned advantages to which many white Americans had become accustomed had been challenged and somewhat curtailed by powerful social movements. But now it was time to return to the former status quo.[89]

Between the Rock of Retrenchment and the Hard Places in Healthcare: Black Women in Gary Meet Neoliberalism

The political, social, and economic situation of Gary, Indiana on the eve of the 1980s was not entirely dissimilar from that confronting other black populations and elected officials in urban centers of the United States. Yet within the particular conditions of Gary, African-American workers found themselves poised before what seemed like a precipice overlooking oblivion.

While Richard Hatcher's apparent retreat from political unity with writer/activist Amiri Baraka may have received little notice in the aftermath of the failed Gary Convention,[90] the rising tide of political and economic woes of Gary threatened to drown any recognition of the positive accomplishments by the Hatcher administration and his supporters for the city. Professor Lane's account of Gary's woes is staggering:

> Gary was faced...with a decline in federal revenues for social programs. The Nixon administration doubled the number of cities qualified to receive Model Cities money without adding new funds to the program. A freeze of HUD money brought housing projects to a temporary standstill. Worse yet, Gary's downtown was becoming a disaster area. With the construction of suburban malls, the number of downtown businesses decreased dramatically (down to under forty by 1979, compared to over five hundred in 1960). Even a threatened boycott (supported by Operation Push) did not deter Sears from abandoning its retail outlet. The financially troubled downtown Holiday Inn closed in January of 1975...Political foes harped on the Mayor's emphasis of black power, and a murderous drug war accelerated the disinvestment process. Neighborhood preservation

> became a top administration priority; but neither community watch programs, the building of recreation centers, nor the banning of 'For Sale' signs could arrest white flight.[91]

Robert Catlin offers painful corroboration of Lane's account in his acknowledgement of Gary's loss of at least 30,000 steel industry jobs during the period from 1979 to 1982.[92] Yet perhaps the most telling assessment of Gary's travail is provided by Gregory D. Squires's explanation of capital's white flight:

> The intersection of restructuring, redevelopment, and race are increasingly manifested in everyday life... Globalization of the U.S. economy is characterized most explicitly by the loss of manufacturing jobs (1.9 million between 1979 and 1987, many of which were relocated to foreign shores) and the concentration of managerial and administrative functions at home contributing to a 13.9 million increase in service sector jobs...The flight of manufacturing jobs from the United States to foreign shores,...as well as corporate relocations within the United States, downsizing (or 'rightsizing') of industry, and other forms of economic restructuring all reflect the efforts of capital to seek out cheaper, union-free work forces in order to retain as large a share of surplus wealth as possible. Technical innovations in production and communication may facilitate these developments and make certain forms of restructuring feasible today that would have been impossible yesterday, but the underlying driving forces are social rather than technical.... And the racial effects are not simply unintended outcomes of changes rooted elsewhere. When corporations seek out greener pastures they tend to seek out whiter ones as well, in part because of the presumption of a relatively greater attraction to unions on the part of blacks, in part to avoid equal opportunity requirements by avoiding areas where minorities are not in the picture, and in part due to the perpetuation of traditional stereotypes and old-fashioned prejudice....[93]

While Gary's economic and political problems set much of the backdrop against which the agency of black working-class women would be demonstrated, changes within the national healthcare industry must also be considered. Without some appreciation of these developments, it will be difficult to properly understand the legacy of trade union militancy fostered and nurtured among the cohort of Gary women workers who are the subjects of this study.

Karen Brodkin Sacks notes that from the late 1950s to the middle of the 1970s, the United States witnessed a sharp increase in working-class militancy in the hospital industry. This rise is attributable to two major factors. The first factor was the "transformation of hospital work itself:"

> Although the division of labor in hospital work rests heavily on industrial principles, the product, medical and emotional care, is often quite intangible, but has very concrete accounting and costs. Many hospital workers experience the health industry as an oxymoron, as they literally care by the hour. Workers began to feel that their work was growing more factorylike in its separation of conception and direction from execution, increasing intensification of supervision, substitution of less for more skilled labor, and introduction of new technologies to substitute for more expensive human labor power. [94]

The second major factor was the emergence of powerful social movements led mainly by African-American people. Again, Sacks's observations are helpful:

> The second contributing factor to hospital unionization was the rise of the civil rights and black freedom movements. These movements attacked the patterns of racial segregation that placed minority workers at the bottom of municipal service and hospital jobs. In the late 1950s and the 1960s, it was primarily black, Hispanic, and women workers in expanding major urban medical complexes in the North who initiated a national wave of hospital and public worker unionization by refusing to stay in their abysmally paid places. Their struggle was soon taken up by southern workers. These union drives of the 1960s consciously joined the issues of workers' rights to those of civil rights. They injected issues of class and economic justice into the civil rights movement, forced the labor movement to deal with racial justice, and laid the groundwork for later efforts by women to force labor unions to deal with gender equity.[95]

The expansive role played by the transformation of hospital work and the rise in worker militancy must be considered in relation to tremendous expansion of medical care since 1965, and the increasing number of people of color who delivered that care. Fred McKinney has sketched out some of the implications:

> By far the most important change in the nation's health care system in the past 20 years has been the introduction of Medicare and Medicaid in July of 1965. Prior to 1965, older Americans were selected out of commercial insurance plans because their expected health expenditures would have exceeded the community-rated premiums that were offered at the time. Low-income Americans also had limited access because health services were too expensive and because they had little health insurance since many low-wage jobs did not offer insurance as a benefit... The growth and structural change in the health industry over the past 20 years has been rapid and dramatic. Total dollars flowing into the industry and changes in the way health services are produced and financed have contributed to an expansion in total industry employment.... The health care system is moving toward an organization that resembles other industries. Competition, cost control, marketing, and a decreased reliance on regulation to achieve social goals are trends that most observers predict will continue in the foreseeable future... The worst fear is that black health workers will find employment prospects increasingly limited in most of the health professions in urban areas. In the 1970s there was an exodus of jobs in the basic industries. In the 1990s there may be an exodus from one of the sectors that was supposed to absorb the labor displaced from manufacturing. Whereas cost containment is an appropriate goal and the increase of for-profits may not necessarily be detrimental to minority employment, we must consider the distributional impacts of this policy on all citizens—workers as well as patients and providers.[96]

The discussion within this section has established in broad outline the formidable array of worsening conditions facing African-American workers in Gary, especially women entering the healthcare industry, in the 1980s. Caught, on the one hand, between the maelstrom of a deindustrialization fueled by an agenda for race, gender, and class retrenchment and privilege; and on the other by the declining fortunes of black social movements of limited vision and internal contradictions, black women workers would once again have to craft and carry out strategies to "make a way outta no way." Given their unique historical and contemporary positioning, and the legacy of subjugated knowledge passed "from heart to heart and breast to breast" these women would dare to survive, and resist. In the shadows they might even sing and smile.

Theoretical Framework

This research inquiry will be guided by Black Feminist Theory. As a theoretical framework, black feminism is most usefully understood, to paraphrase feminist scholar Patricia Hill Collins, as a body of ideas and social practices emerging from oppressed African-American women as an expression of critical social theory, engendering both critiques of oppression and positive social change. The history of black women's feminist theorizing extends from their earliest experiences with race, gender, sexuality, and class as principles of social organization and identity formation in the United States.[97] Despite their relegation to the margins of political and social discourse by dominant white males, elite white women, and African-American male leaders in African-American communities; African-American women have given voice and visible expression to their experiences, their strategies for survival and change, and their vision(s) of better ways of working, living, and building community.[98]

Yet while African-American women's historical challenges and survival efforts have been the crucible within which black feminist theorizing has emerged; to fully understand the role and significance of black feminist theory and practice we must consider that, as Rose Brewer has noted, "the gateway to the new black feminist scholarship" was "the civil rights movement and the mainstream feminist movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s."[99] Social change struggles following the narrow logic of mainstream anti-discrimination perspectives often foundered on the tendencies to focus only on circumstances of white women and African-American men.[100] Moreover, by 1970 A number of African-American women had already discerned just how disturbingly

unique the positioning of African-American women was in relation to the "second wave" of U.S. feminism. Frances Beale boldly named this second wave as a "*white* women's movement" because, according to Chela Sandoval, "it insisted on organizing along the binary gender division male/female alone."[101] Within such silencing conditions African-American women had to fight persistently just to gain recognition of the unique ways in which their lives, consciousness, and activism were being shaped. Speaking out of their own immediate conditions in Boston, the Combahee River Collective's 1977 statement offered a striking view of the unique set of dynamics:

> The most general statement of our politics at the present time would be that we are actively committed to struggling against racial, sexual, heterosexual, and class oppression, and see as our particular task the development of an integrated analysis and practice based upon the fact that major systems of oppression create the conditions of our lives. As black women we see black feminism as the logical political movement to combat the manifold and simultaneous oppressions that all women of color face.[102]

While the growing alienation expressed felt by African-American women was, in many respects, a reality they shared with other U.S. women of color; the particular experiences of African-American women contributed to the sense of mission with which they sought to articulate their own understandings of "feminism."

Yet black feminist theory and practice was not simply an expression of the frustrated political strivings of women in an embattled racial-ethnic social group. As a consequence of their similar positioning within interdependent hierarchies in the United States; black women saw the need to work with other women of color. This mutually-beneficial process helped gradually forge what Sandoval and others have referred to as "U.S. third world feminism."[103] This alternative feminism, according to Sandoval, is

critical because it expressed the political strivings of women of color who were being denied full access and participation in the "second wave" movement (in addition to being denied full participation in their various racial-ethnic movements). Yet it was also important because it represented "a deliberate politics organized to point out the so-called third world *in* the first world." Moreover, this effort was meant "to signal a conflagration of geographic, economic, and cultural borders in the interests of creating a new feminist and internationalist consciousness...a new global consciousness and terrain that challenges the distinctions of nation-state."[104] Thus, for Sandoval and her theoretical and political allies, U.S. third world feminism holds the possibilities of advancing "not only U.S. feminist consciousness but oppositional activity in general: it comprises a formulation capable of aligning such movements for social justice with what have been identified as world-wide movements of decolonization." And as one of its major contributing currents, black Feminist Theory suggests similar potential for radicalizing current social change perspectives and strategies.

Admittedly, this "U.S. third world feminism" has not received the attention of scholars and social change agents that it deserves. This persistent, perhaps even obdurate, unwillingness of many white feminists—not to mention that of many male and female scholars who dismiss feminisms as unnecessary and divisive—is undoubtedly one of the prime reasons why Chela Sandoval says "the writings of feminist third world theorists are laced through with bitterness." Yet this is the evolving context within which women of color generally, African-American women in particular, and a number of white feminist allies are continuing to struggle.

black Feminist Theory has been anchored by the understanding of race, gender, sexuality, and class as interacting, intersecting, and interdependent principles of social organization, forms of oppression, and criteria for identity formation. These principles, forms, and criteria not only operate within the same social spaces; but also mutually shape and reinforce one another. Black feminist theoretical work has been further grounded in the following propositions, identified by Rose Brewer in her illuminating contribution to the 1993 volume, *Theorizing Black Feminisms*, by James and Busia:

> critiquing dichotomous oppositional thinking by using both/and rather than either/or categorizations; allowing for the simultaneity of oppression and struggle; eschewing, or avoiding, additive analyses (in other words, race+ class+gender; an understanding of the interconnectedness and relationality of multiple oppression that underscores the "multiplicative" nature of oppressions (thus, race x class x gender); reconstructing the lived experiences, historical positioning, cultural perceptions, and social construction of African-American women enmeshed within such 'multiplicative' conditions; and developing feminist approaches and analyses rooted in the complex intersections of U.S. existence.[105]

The theoretical and political orientation of black feminist theorizing has emerged amidst continuous debates within U.S. life and culture as a two-fold consequence of oppression and discrimination, on one hand, and black women's resistance, on the other. Regarding oppression and discrimination, African-American women have demanded recognition and social change for the economic, political, and ideological dimensions of their multiple oppressions. Indeed, such conditions have continually contributed to popular and social science perspectives that have demeaned, distorted, and disrupted notions of African-American women as human, political actors. Despite the omnipresent and devilish constraints of their lives, however; African-American women have continually found ways to resist, survive, and even transform the constraining

circumstances forming the various stages of their sojourn in the United States.[106] Frances Beale's eloquent characterization in 1970 of many black women's experiences as "the slave of a slave" echoed an indictment which has yet to be generally acknowledged and acted upon by African-American men and women.[107] Indeed, at a time when such an indictment should have become a watchword for institutional and personal change, it continues to have the status of a taboo.

The concept of simultaneity, or intersectionality (for which some more recent contemporary theorists have opted (e.g., Crenshaw 1989), has been widely acknowledged as central to the theoretical efforts of black women and women of color in general.[108] Initially excavated and articulated by African-American feminists in the Combahee River Collective, this concept has contributed considerably to the recognition of the theoretical significance of black women's lives. Previous accounts of black American life and culture all too often elaborated and reinforced mainstream biases and stereotypes essential to the continued domination and exploitation of African-American women, women, and communities. By exploring and illuminating the interplay of race, gender, sexuality, and class in African-American women's lives, these theorists and activists have not only challenged inadequate analyses of African-American life by black men and white U.S. feminists; but they have also challenged ineffective political strategies grounded in partial accounts dependant upon extremely narrow bases of experience. Moreover, these theorists have helped to show the complex ways in which not only the lives of African-American women, but also those of African-American men, are shaped by multiple oppressions.[109]

The onset of neo-liberal politics and global retrenchment since the 1970s has rendered the unique positioning of African-American women and other women of color more precarious than many realize. During the past three decades much of the public discussion of inequality in the United States has been focused primarily on either gender or race, and, as black feminist scholars have pointed out, this limited discussion usually means discussions of white women or black men. This theoretical—and ultimately political—erasure of African-American women has been roundly criticized by feminist scholars of color as well as a number of their white feminist allies.

To summarize this discussion of the theoretical framework for this research project, there are three fundamental reasons why black feminist theory has been chosen to guide this research effort. First, black feminist theory unequivocally posits the uniqueness of African-American women's positioning (via social structures and institutions, social processes, and social representations) in U.S. society, historically and contemporarily. Second, this body of ideas and social practice recognizes and validates the unique agency of working-class women who, while sharing some similar constraints with other women of color, nevertheless make their own ways "outta no way" as they navigate their particular conditions of oppression. They thus demonstrate an agency that is distinct because their experiences of race, gender, sexuality and class are distinct. Third, black feminist thought and practice offer the possibility of exploring the lives of African-American working-class women in ways rendered impossible by more customary orientations. In other words, while we cannot assume that the black women workers are "feminist" in any formal or organizational sense; by looking at their lives

through the lens of black feminism we can better discern ways in which these women resist the racist, classist, sexist, and heterosexist dilemmas in which they continuously struggle. Fourth, black feminist theoretical work points to the possibility of discovering unheeded ways in which marginalized workers have responded to the draconian challenges of international capital's globalization and neo-liberal "reform" during the twenty-year period under investigation. Such ongoing research and investigation might reveal what mainstream and monist approaches deem perverse, unimaginable, and utopian: the underdeveloped possibilities of radical social action in the activities and ideas of black women workers.[110]

Research Methodology

This dissertation will be a case study of the consciousness and activism of African-American women healthcare workers of Local 73HC of the Service Employees' International Union, in Gary, Indiana workplaces during the years from 1980 to 2000. The inquiry explicitly seeks to uncover the individual and collective expressions of working-class political agency of women of color who have not previously been studied. The purpose of such a study, according to Shulamit Reinharz, is to provide "research that focuses on a single case or single issue, in contrast with studies that seek generalizations through comparative analysis or compilation of a large number of instances."[111] This project, then, will provide an initial examination of the experiences of black working women in hospitals and nursing facilities in order to begin to understand how they confronted the initial stages of deindustrialization, white backlash, and corporate restructuring in Gary, Indiana.

The Process of Discovery with Study Subjects

Over the course of approximately two years this researcher conducted qualitative interviews with each of the fifteen women of this case study. These interviews were preceded by preliminary conversations with each of the subjects in order to facilitate the development of some measure of trust and understanding for subjects as well as researcher. These conversations also enabled both researcher and subjects to develop conceptual clarity about the research project as well as increased commitment to it. The time required for the actual interviews was largely due to the exacting day-to-day schedules maintained by the subjects in their workplace and household lives. The interview process established with the subjects was flexible enough to accommodate their extremely busy lives, and thus in some cases, several short sessions were conducted with each of the workers. After the schedule of interview questions was completed, the interviews were transcribed; read over by both interviewer and interviewees to insure authenticity and voice, i.e., to make certain that the recorded statements actually reflected the desired sentiments and acceptable word usage of the subjects. Following these stages, the interviewer discussed the transcript with each interviewee to clarify any questions that might have emerged during the interview process. As a final step, each interviewee acknowledged that the transcript accurately reflected her views and voice.

In addition to the fifteen principal subjects, the interview process also included interviews with several individuals who could provide both context and some measure of corroboration (broadly speaking) for insights and remembrances offered by the subjects. These individuals included a former mayor of Gary, Richard Gordon Hatcher; two trade

union representatives and organizers who knew a significant number of the subjects as well as the workplaces in which they labored, Lorenzo Crowell and Alice Bush; a nurse employed at one of the workplaces familiar to several subjects; John Gunn, an Indiana University graduate who is originally from Gary and is familiar with Gary history and politics, especially during the Hatcher years; Dr. James B. Lane, an associate professor of history at Indiana University Northwest; Barbara Schmal, a nurse familiar with hospital management practices during the 1980s and 1990s; and Dr. Betty Balanoff, a life-long resident of Northwest Indiana who was also a civil rights and workers rights activist along with her husband, Jim Balanoff (now deceased).

The research process also included examination of old Gary newspapers and old 1199 Magazines, provided by trade unionists Alice Bush and Edna Barden. These materials helped to establish historical and political context for the interviews with subjects.

The Women Workers of the Study

We have yet to understand how the forgoing discussion actually situates the cohort of African-American women healthcare workers who are the subjects of this dissertation inquiry. This section will address this question.

The subjects of this study are all African-American working-class women, ranging from 42 to 71 years of age. The oldest subject was born in 1933, while the youngest was born in 1962. Most of the subjects were born and raised in Gary, Indiana, and are members of families that had previously migrated from various areas of the South to find gainful employment and to escape political and social conditions of the segregated

South. Several women who were not born in Gary moved to the city from areas of Mississippi or Alabama in early adulthood. Most of the women have been married and are either divorced or have lost husbands in death. Several are currently married. Most have had children, and all are currently helping to care for family members as grandmothers, mothers, and/or aunts. All of the women are either graduates of high school or have attained a GED.

The subjects of this study worked at St. Mary's Hospital, Methodist Hospital, and Wildwood Nursing Home (now called Clark Nursing Home and Rehabilitation facility). The women entered the Service Employees' International Union after its emergence from the militant and politically progressive 1199 National Union of Hospital and Healthcare Employees. Some of the women had been working in their Gary workplaces for some time with knowledge of unionism and the necessity of strong working-class organization if workers were to survive. Those who entered their workplaces without previous knowledge of unionism nevertheless had a sense of the possibility of change signaled by the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements. Moreover, these women were soon baptized in the residual 1199 culture of SEIU.

Given the economic, political, and social constraints experienced by the women of this study, their activist activities and ideas may well provide valuable insights into how trade union and African-American community struggles might have been enhanced in Gary and Northwest Indiana if greater attention had been paid to the efforts of these women during the period under investigation. This matter of the potential value this study may have for increased theoretical, analytical, and organizational insights returns

us to the question of what can legitimately be learned from a relatively small cohort of black women who have been members of a single private-sector union yet have struggled in different workplaces. No simple answer to this question seems likely. Nevertheless, the study may help to show how these ordinary black women workers (caught within the vortex of racial and gender backlash, ongoing deindustrialization, and an emerging agenda of neoliberal restructuring causing draconian results within the healthcare industry) offered extraordinary resistance despite ebbing Black Power politics and the perennial blind spots of "organized labor" and mainstream feminism.

Black Feminist Qualitative Research: Implication for the Project

The decision to ground this research project in black feminist theory means that for this researcher, considerable attention must be paid to placing the black women subjects of the research effort at the center of the project. In addition to paying attention to the intersecting influences of race, class, gender, and sexuality shaping these women's lives; placing them at the center also means viewing the conditions and struggles of their lives through their eyes. This does not mean that in the interpretations of collected data this researcher will ignore or dismiss conclusions drawn from the data that may not be acceptable to the women subjects. On the contrary, the concluding interpretations will be openly discussed with them to insure that they understand how and why the conclusions have been drawn from the available data. Putting black women at the center also means establishing a working rapport with the women workers so that the customary problems arising as a result of differential values between the researcher and subjects are not recreated. Problems stemming from the differences in educational attainment as well as

certain life experiences can greatly distort the gathering and interpretation of data. Such potential problems are best addressed in open discussion with research subjects about the aims of the research project, inviting ideas from the women themselves about how to most effectively gain insights into their activities, ideas, and their meanings for the women themselves. Such discussion has been integral to initial discussions between this researcher and the research subjects.

To date a focus group and several individual conversations have been conducted. These "conversations" have enabled this researcher to begin developing a sense of the kinds of questions needed to illuminate the agency of the black workers as they understood its expressions and meaning in their lives. These discussions are continuing as the initial stage of gathering data orally. The second stage of conversations will allow the researcher to gain deeper insights into the consciousness of the women about their conditions, strengths and limitations as workers; the salient problems within their unions and workplaces; the meaning of both their accomplishments and failures; and the resulting contributions of their efforts to their workplaces, union, and community. In addition to the gathering of data from the women orally, this researcher has been given clearance to examine relevant documents of the two union locals of SEIU in which the women were/are members.

The concept of "centerwomen," or "centerpeople" as employed by Karen Brodkin Sacks has proven very important for this researcher during the initial stage of connecting and building rapport with the women workers. Sacks derived these concepts from her research into the different ways men and women exercised leadership during a five-year

organizing drive at Duke University Medical Center.[112] Sacks uses the concept to explain how certain workers, in this case, black women, provide a kind of leadership from behind the scenes of the day-to-day struggle. While black males often provided an aggressive, confrontational, and vocal style of leadership, Sacks noted that a different kind of leadership, what one might call a "leading by connecting," was often exercised by the centerwomen. These were workers whose respect among their coworkers was such that Sacks was unable to get much response from workers unless the centerwomen agreed that what she was trying to accomplish was important for other workers to support. This researcher's experience has been quite similar to that of Sacks in that efforts made repeatedly to reach out to particular workers have been unsuccessful until contact was made with one or two "centerwomen." Once these women have been won over to a meeting or issue, support from other workers has materialized. This has convinced this researcher of the need for developing the rapport built up to date. The close relationship between this researcher and a well-respected union representative for SEIU (and a close friend of a number of the participants) has also contributed to the participants' acceptance of me as a sensitive labor educator and researcher committed to the empowerment of working-class people generally, and the empowerment of the participants and their community in particular.

The choice of black feminist theory as the theoretical framework for this project raises the question of whether or not I, as an African-American male researcher, can effectively conduct this project with African-American women. To date, the writer remains convinced, on the basis of initial responses of the projected participants, and on

the basis of significant work being done by other black males (using feminist approaches to research, teaching, and social intervention), that it is entirely possible for the researcher to successfully conduct this project. Moreover, my research efforts as an African-American labor educator and social scientist constitute a type of modeling that has already contributed to positive ideas about the possibilities for intervening in this and other working-class communities.

A most significant ethical issue is the question of how to insure that the knowledge creation resulting from this project will prove an empowering experience for the participants and the community generally. Two courses of action appear necessary. First, the results of the research project will, after analysis, be shared with all of the participants. This is absolutely essential because this research effort should not be allowed to perpetuate the silencing that has for so long characterized the experiences of the participating workers "in the margins." The second option, the sharing of these women's "stories" with the larger Gary community via presentations at community venues by the women themselves, is an option in which several women have already expressed interest. During the month of February, as one alternative means of commemorating Black History Month for 2004, this researcher initiated a "Tribute to African-American Workers" on the campus of Indiana University Northwest (IUN). This event, sponsored jointly by the Division of Labor Studies and the Diversity Planning Group for IUN, celebrated the contributions of most of the women who have consented to be consultants for this research project. This event enabled members of the Gary community, as well as the women workers who were honored, to see their activism in a

broader perspective. One immediate result of this initiative has been the development of closer relationships between the women and this researcher. To date, a number have expressed a greater sense of appreciation for the actual meaning of their efforts for the African-American community of Gary as well as for their respective workplaces in the city. The point here is that some useful means of further popularizing the activities and ideas of the participants would contribute considerably to the ongoing efforts at empowerment in the community.

Questions for Data Collection

Given the significance and the expectations of this research project, several categories of questions have been identified, and will enable this researcher to structure the collection and evaluation of data. The collection of data from study subjects will be accomplished in two steps. The first step will be to provide subjects with a questionnaire comprised of basic background information. Such information can most usefully be attained through a questionnaire to avoid long and multiple interviews. Questions asked within Category 1 will be reserved for the projected questionnaire. Remaining categories of questions will be asked in a single in-depth interview that will not exceed three hours. The categories of questions will be as follows:

1. Questions regarding personal and employment backgrounds of the study subjects;

2. Questions about experiences of waged labor in healthcare workplaces of Gary and Northwest Indiana;

3. Questions about individual and collective plans and actions to respond to problematic conditions in healthcare workplaces—especially conditions reflecting the operation of race, class, and gender;

4. Questions regarding the workers' evaluations of the success of their individual and collective responses to workplace conditions;

5. Questions regarding plans of action to make the union more responsive to the needs of workers;

6. Questions regarding workers evaluations of efforts made within the union to increase union responsiveness;

7. Questions regarding workers' plans and actions for balancing demands of workplace and home;

8. Questions regarding worker's evaluations of the success of efforts to balance demands of workplace and family.

9. A question regarding any final comments the workers may wish to make regarding their workplace and union experiences.

While questions formulated within each of the foregoing categories will serve as the main queries for collecting data in interviews with study subjects; one of the assumptions of the study is that in varying instances, follow-up questions will be necessary in order to fully understand oral responses of study subjects.

Schedule of Projected Questions

The following questions are projected within each of the previously identified categories:

Category 1 (Questionnaire)

1. When were you born?

2. Where were you born and reared?

3. What male and female relatives lived with you within your household?

4. What kinds of work did your parents do for wages?

5. What kinds of work did male and female family members do within your household?

6. How much formal education were you able to attain?

7. In your formal years of education, what were the races of your classmates and teachers?

8. If you were not born in Gary, Indiana, when did you move to Gary?

9. What kinds of jobs did you have before you began working in health care?

10. What were your duties in these jobs?

11. When did you begin working in the health care industry in Gary/Northwest Indiana?

12. What facilities have you worked in since you entered the health care industry?

13. If there have been other members of your family who have worked in health care facilities, where did they work and what kinds of work did they do?

Category 2

1. What were/are your duties at the healthcare facility?

2. Who taught you, or helped you to learn, your job duties?

3. Did/do you have a written job description to identify your job duties?

4. How much did/do you make per hour in your job?

5. What shift(s) and hours did/do you work?

6. What were/are the races and genders of your supervisors or bosses at your workplace?

7. What were/are the races and genders of your coworkers at your workplace?

8. Was there a union in your workplace, and if so, what was the name of the union?

9. Describe any difficult or dangerous aspects to your job?

10. Describe any workplace disadvantages and conflicts that you have experienced?

11. What workplace disadvantages do you believe you have experienced because of your race?

12. What workplace disadvantages do you believe you have experienced because you are a woman?

13. Describe the way(s) you have been treated by those who supervised you in your job(s) in the health care industry?

14. Describe any other workplace disadvantages and conflicts that you have experienced as a black woman worker?

Category 3

1. When did you become a member of your union?

2. When did you become active?

3. Describe how you became active within your union?

4. What actions did you plan and use to handle disadvantages and conflicts that you experienced in the workplace?

5. What actions did you and your co-workers plan and use to handle problems that you experienced together?

6. What results did you intend to achieve through your individual efforts to handle workplace problems?

7. What results did you and your co-workers intend to achieve through your collective efforts to handle workplace problems?

Category 4

1. Describe the success of your individual efforts to handle workplace difficulties and conflicts?

2. Describe the success of the collective efforts made by you and your co-workers to handle workplace difficulties and conflicts?

Category 5

1. Describe the major activities of your union?

2. Describe the effectiveness of your union leadership in helping workers address difficulties and conflicts with management?

3. Describe the effectiveness of your union leadership in helping to make your union inclusive and participatory?

4. Do you believe your union is mainly responsive, mainly unresponsive, or sometimes responsive and sometimes unresponsive to the needs of workers?

5. Describe the participation of your co-workers who are members of your union?

6. What workplace and/or union conditions made you believe that you needed to act to make the union more responsive to workers' needs?

7. What actions did you plan and use to make the union more responsive to the needs of workers in your workplace?

Category 6

1. Describe the success of your efforts to make the union more responsive to the needs of workers in your workplace?

Category 7

1. What male and female relatives live with you in your household?

2. How do you and family members decide who will be responsible for particular duties within the household?

3. Describe any duties or chores that you feel compelled to perform because you are a woman?

4. In what ways have your responsibilities and conditions at your workplace interfered with your responsibilities in your household?

5. Describe any feelings of frustration or disappointment about not being able to meet expectations and demands of your workplace and household?

6. In what ways have your responsibilities in your household helped you with your responsibilities at work?

7. In what ways have your responsibilities in your household helped you with your responsibilities as a union member?

8. In what ways have your responsibilities and activities as a worker and union member helped you with responsibilities and demands in your household?

9. What actions did you plan and use to balance demands of workplace and home?

Category 8

1. Describe the success of your efforts to balance demands of workplace and home?

Category 9

1. Would you like to say anything else about your workplace and union experiences?

The Core Concepts of Agency and Simultaneity

For this case study, the core concepts of agency and simultaneity are noteworthy. Provisional definition of such concepts is useful for at least three reasons. First, these two inextricably linked concepts help me to focus my investigation—although the definition of the concepts may well change during the course of the research. Second, the establishment working definitions of agency and simultaneity helps to illuminate certain characteristic features of the lives of the women who are the subjects of my research. Without some provisional understanding of simultaneity and agency, it is unlikely that the initial guiding questions would seem significant enough to be asked. Third, having provisional definitions of core concepts has guided me in my evaluation of the relevance

of existing literature treating the conditions and resistance of working-class women and men.

It may be useful here to emphasize the fact that this research project is not focused on *agency* and *simultaneity* per se, but on the activities and consciousness—the actions and ideas—of working-class women whose lives appear to embody these concepts. In fact, while these concepts have proven quite useful in illuminating the experiences and the resistance of U.S. women—especially women of color—to varying conditions of oppression; the particular ways in which these broadly defined concepts may be manifested within the lives of these research subjects have yet to be more fully discovered. Herein lies an important advantage of a grounded theory approach.

Referring to the capacity of members of oppressed social groups to think and act for themselves—that is, in accordance with their needs and interests materially and subjectively—the concept of *agency* helps to illuminate the humanity and the thoughtful strivings of oppressed people(s) for power in societies where they are positioned structurally and ideologically as fit for only certain devalued forms of work.

For African-American working-class women, then, the concept of agency is inextricably bound up with that of the simultaneity, or the intersectionality, of multiple oppressions. This means that the capacities of African-American working-class women to think and act in their own behalf, to resist oppression as individuals who are members of embattled social groups, are *both* constrained *and* enabled by their lived experiences at the intersection of oppressions based on race, gender, sexuality, and class.

Chapters, Topics, and Timetable for Completion of the Study

This study is organized around the chapters and topics discussed within this section.

Chapter I is comprised of the Overview, Statement of the Problem, the Significance of the Research Question, the Theoretical Framework, and the Review of Literature.

Chapter II, Introducing the Study Subjects, provides basic socioeconomic status (SES) information on the women who are the subjects of the study. This chapter also provides some background data regarding their family origins and early life histories, including their early experiences in waged labor prior to entering the healthcare industry.

Chapter III, It Was More Than a Notion, will discuss economic, political, and social conditions of Gary, Indiana that set the context for the entry of the subjects into their respective healthcare workplaces during the period under investigation. This chapter also discusses the general challenges of healthcare restructuring that formed the overarching context of workplace struggles for the workers and their union.

Chapter IV, Between a Rock and a Scalpel, presents the specific conditions experienced by the workers within their workplaces as well as learn more about how they understood their experiences of injustice.

Chapter V, We've Come Too Far To Give Up Now, examines the reports of case study subjects regarding their workplace conflicts and the array of strategies which subjects adopted.

Chapter VI, Conclusions, presents the conclusions of the study. The summer months of June, July, and August 2004 were devoted to the qualitative interviews (or "conversations") with the subjects of the study. This period was also be used to gather data from available union records from SEIU Local 73HC and knowledgeable persons within the union and Gary community. Collected oral data were also transcribed during this period.

NOTES

CHAPTER I

1. While most discussions of restructuring generally refer to it as an inevitable *economic* phenomenon, global restructuring is in fact a process no less political than economic. Gary Teeple's volume (2000), *Globalization and the Decline of Social Reform: Into the Twenty-First Century*, provides an excellent examination of neoliberalism as the political prelude to "globalization."

2. Note, for example, the following: Piven and Cloward 1980; Marable 1983; Eisenstein, 1984; Simms and Malveaux 1986; Beneria and Stimpson 1987; Vanneman and Cannon 1987; Gerstel and Gross 1987; Sidel 1987; Moody 1988; Bookman and Morgen 1988; Sacks 1988; Aptheker 1989; Roediger 1991; Baca Zinn and Dill 1994; Kelley 1996; Goldfield 1997; Dubofsky 1997; Moody 1997; Davis 1998; Brenner 2000; Chang 2000; Zweig 2000; Needleman 2003.

3 . Manning Marable *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in black America, 1945-1990, Revised Second Edition*, University Press of Mississippi, 1991.

4. The concepts of "simultaneity" and "intersectionality" will be discussed in a separate section of this proposal. The Combahee River Collective's "A Black Feminist Statement" in 1974 was probably the first post-WWII analysis of simultaneity by African-American women. See *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism,* ed. Zillah R. Eisenstein, 1979; and "Poor black Sisters Decided for Themselves: A Case Study of 1960s Women's Liberation Activism," M. Rivka Polatnick, in *Black Women In America*, ed. Kim Marie Vaz, 1995, 110-130. See also Deborah K. King's "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology," in *Black Women in America,* eds. Malson, Mudimbe-Boyi, O'Barr, and Wyer, 1988.

5. See Patricia Hill Collins's *black Feminist Thought, Second Edition*, (2000), and also her 1998 volume, *Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice.*

6. The concept of agency is discussed in a separate section of this proposal. Also see Diana Tietjens Meyers's "Agency," in *A Companion to Feminist Philosophy*, eds. Alison M. Jaggar and Iris Marion Young, 1998. See also, "Women's Agency and Collective Action," Maud L. Eduards, *Women's Studies International Forum 17*(2-3), 1994, 181-186.

7. Patricia Hill Collins, "Learning from the Outsider Within: The Sociological Significance of Black Feminist Thought," *Social Problems 33*(6): 14-32.

8. See *Women and the American Labor Movement: From World War I to the Present* (Philip S. Foner, 1979); *Women, Work, and Protest: A Century of U.S. Women's Labor History*, ed. Ruth Milkman, 1985; *Families and Work*, eds. Naomi Gerstel and Harriet Engel Gross, 1987; *All American Women: awALines That Divide, Ties That Bind*, ed. Johnnetta B. Cole, 1986; *Race, Gender, and Work: A Multicultural Economic History of Women in the United States, Revised Edition*, Teresa Amott and Julie Matthaei, 1996; *Let Nobody Turn Us Around: Voices of Resistance, Reform, and Renewal*, eds. Manning Marable and Leith Mullings, 2000.

9. Ann Bookman and Sandra Morgen, *Women and the Politics of Empowerment*, 1988, 3-29.

10. Ibid., 3.

11. Myra Marx Ferree, "She Works Hard for a Living: Gender and Class on the Job," in *Analyzing Gender: A Handbook of Social Science Research*, eds. Beth B. Hess and Myra Marx Ferree, 1987, 322. See also Janet A. Flammang's discussion of feminist theorizing on women's political voice(s) in Women's Political Voice, 1997, 30-34.

12. The Color of Gender: Reimaging Democracy, Zillah R. Eisenstein, 1994; The Color of Privilege: Three Blasphemies on Race and Feminism, Aida Hurtado, 1996. See also Baca Zinn and Dill, 1994.

13. See the path-breaking volume, *The Black Woman: An Anthology*, ed. Toni Cade (Bambara), 1970.

14. See "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics," Kimberle Crenshaw, in *Feminist Legal Theory: Readings in Law and Gender*, eds. Katharine T. Bartlett and Rosanne Kennedy, 1991, 57-80.

15. See, for example, Robert Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America*, 1965.

16. Marable and Mullings, 511-518. See also Leith Mullings, *On Our Own Terms: Race, Class, and Gender in the Lives of African-American Women*, 1997, 131-158.

17. See, for example, "Groundings with My Sisters: Patriarchy and the Exploitation of Black Women," in *How Capitalism Underdeveloped Black America, Updated Edition*, Manning Marable, 2000, South End Press, 69-103; and "Images, Ideology, and Women of Color," Leith Mullings, in *Women of Color in U.S. Society*, Baca Zinn and Dill, 265-289.

18. Joy James, *Transcending the Talented Tenth: Black Leaders and American Intellectuals*, especially chapter 1, "The Talented Tenth Recalled."

19. Ibid., 21-23.

20. Ibid., 27.

21. *The Color of Politics: Race and the Mainsprings of American Politics*, Michael Goldfield, 1997, 279-280.

22. Ibid., 280.

23. *Marching Together: Women of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters*, Melinda Chateauvert, 1998, 15.

24. *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism, and Political Theory*, Carole Pateman, 1989, 185.

25. "A Case Study: Race-Ethnicity, Class, and African-American Women: Exploring the Community Connection," in *Revolutions in Knowledge: Feminism in the Social Sciences*, eds. Sue Rosenberg Zalk and Janice Gordon-Kelter, 1992, 63-78.

26. "Speaking Up: Black Women's Labor History," Sharon Harley, in Women and Work: Exploring Race, Ethnicity, and Class, eds. Elizabeth Higginbotham and Mary Romero, 1997, 28-51.

27. "When Your Work Is Not Who You Are: The Development of a Working-Class Consciousness Among Afro-American Women," 6.

28. Ibid., 7.

29. *Across the Boundaries of Race and Class: An Exploration of Work and Family Among Black Female Domestic Servants*, Bonnie Thornton Dill, 1994, 3-14. See also Evelyn Nakano Glenn's trenchant analysis, "From Servitude to Service Work: Historical Continuities in the Racial Division of Paid Reproductive Labor," in Ruiz and DuBois, 1991, 436-465.

30. "Toward a Unified Theory of Class, Race, and Gender," Karen Brodkin Sacks, The American Ethnologist, 1989, 534-550.

31. "Race, Class, Gender and U.S. State Welfare Policy: The Nexus of Inequality for African-American Families," Rose Brewer, in *Color, Class, and Country: Experiences of Gender*, eds. Gay Young and Bette J. Dickerson, 1994. See also *Latinas*

and African-American Women at Work: Race, Gender, and Economic Inequality, ed. Irene Browne, 1999.

32. *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment, Second Edition*, Patricia Hill Collins, 2000, 60-61.

33. Ibid., 9.

34. Ibid., 8-9.

35. Ibid., 9-12.

36. Ibid., 270.

37. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics," in Bartlett and Kennedy, 1991, 58.

38. *The American Dream in Black and White: The Clarence Thomas Hearings*, Jane Flax, 1998, Cornell University Press, 2. The powerful study by Patricia Zavella of organizing efforts amongst Chicana women cannery workers in California also provides an instructive discussion of the complexities arising from multiple oppressions in the lives of U.S. women of color. See "The Politics of Race and Gender: Organizing Chicana Cannery Workers in Northern California," in Bookman and Morgen 1988, 202-224. See also the eminently accessible analyses of intersectionality and interpenetration by Aurora Levins Morales in *Medicine Stories: History, Culture and the Politics of Integrity*, 1998, South End Press.

39. See, for example, the incisive and disturbing examination by Fred McKinney, "Employment Implications of a Changing Health-Care System," in *Slipping Through the Cracks: The Status of Black Women*, eds. Margaret C. Simms and Julianne M. Malveaux, 1986, Transaction Publishers, 199-215.

40. Deborah Brown Carter, "The Impact of the Civil Rights Movement on the Unionization of African-American Women," in *Black Women in America*, ed. Kim Marie Vaz, 1995, Sage Publications, 96-109.

41. Karen Brodkin Sacks, *Caring by the Hour: Women, Work, and Organizing at Duke Medical Center*, 1988, University of Illinois Press, 37-39.

42. Despite its continuing currency, the conventional characterization of African-American political, economic, and social strivings as *either* "nationalist" *or* "integrationist" is not a useful way of interpreting the societal struggles of black Americans. For the purposes of this research project, this researcher has found the

approach of Marable and Mullings eminently more helpful. With this approach, scholars are encouraged to investigate African-American strivings for *autonomy*, for *inclusion*, and for *transformation*. This tripartite model enables us to more adequately address the overlapping and seemingly contradictory impulses existing within organizations, movements, and human social actors. See Marable and Mullings 2000, xvii-xxv.

43. This "single-axis framework" is also referred to by some scholars as "monism." For an example, see Deborah K. King's "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness."

44. "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex," in Feminist Legal Theory: Readings in Law and Gender, eds. Katharine T. Bartlett and Rosanne Kennedy, 1991, Westview Press, 57.

45. Crenshaw, 58.

46. Ibid., 64-65. To the extent that antidiscrimination law is grounded in conservative ideological assumptions, African-American political theorists and activists must carefully interrogate the relationship between a stance of *anti-discrimination* and one of *anti-oppression.*

47. For an incisive discussion of the "profeminist/womanist activism" of Douglass, see Gary Lemons's "To Be Black, Male, and Feminist: Making Womanist Space for Black Men on the Eve of a New Millennium," in *Feminism and Men: Reconstructing Gender Relations*, eds. Steven P. Schacht and Doris W. Ewing, 1998, 43-66.

48. *Gender Talk: The Struggle for Women's Equality in African-American Communities*, Johnnetta Betsch Cole and Beverly Guy-Sheftall, 2003, 75.

49. Ibid., 75-76.

50. *Segregated Sisterhood: Racism and the Politics of American Feminism*, Nancie Caraway, 1991, 138-139.

51. Ibid., 140.

52. *Gender Talk*, 76.

53. *Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States (Enlarged Edition)*, Eleanor Flexner and Ellen Fitzpatrick, 1996, 122.

54. "To Catch the Vision of Freedom: Reconstructing Southern Black Women's Political History, 1865-1880," Elsa Barkley Brown, in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural*

Reader in U.S. Women's History, (3rd ed.), eds. Vicki L. Ruiz and Elle Carol DuBois, 2000, 128-129.

55. *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*, Michael Omi and Howard Winant, 1994, 4.

56. *Gender Talk*, 85.

57. Ibid., 86. For confirmation of this point, see the accounts of Charles Payne (1995); Crawford, Rouse, and Woods (1993); Robert Allen (1990); Aldon D. Morris (1984); and Vincent Harding (1983).

58. *Ain't I A Woman: black women and feminism*, Bell Hooks, 1981, 88-94.

59. See Chandra Talpade Mohanty's brilliant retrospective critique of the U.S. feminist movement, especially its exclusions of women of color, "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses, in Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism, eds. Mohanty, Russo, and Torres, 1991, 51-80.

60. *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought*, ed. Beverly Guy-Sheftall, 1995, 14-15.

61. Ibid., 15.

62. *Gender Talk*, 94.

63. Ibid., 79-80.

64. Ibid., 99.

65. *Cultures in Babylon: Black Britain and African America*, Hazel V. Carby, 1999, 67-68.

66. Ibid., 68-69.

67. Ibid., 69.

68. *Inessential Woman: Problems of Exclusion in Feminist Thought*, Elizabeth V. Spelman, 1988, 114.

69. Ibid., 115.

70. Ibid., 115-116.

71. *Women's Political Voice: How Women Are Transforming the Practice and Study of Politics*, Janet A. Flammang, 1997, 305-306.

72. *Segregated Sisterhood*, 201-202.

73. *Black Freedom Fighters in Steel: The Struggle for Democratic Unionism*, Ruth Needleman, 2003, Cornell University.

74. *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945-1990, Revised Second Edition*, Manning Marable, 1991, 132-134; and Marable and Mullings 2000, 491-496. See also *A Nation Within a Nation: Amiri Baraka (Leroi Jones) & black Power Politics*, Komozi Woodard, 1991, 151-218.

75. *Racial Politics and Urban Planning: Gary, Indiana, 1980-1989*, Robert A. Catlin, 2. Prior to 1967, according to Lane, African-Americans in Gary "had been the most loyal but least rewarded component of Gary's corrupt Democratic machine." See *Steel Shavings, 21*, 1992, 69.

76. Ibid., 1-7.

77. "An Oral History of Mayor Richard G. Hatcher's Administration, 1980-1987," ed. James B. Lane, *Steel Shavings, 21*, 1992, 69.

78. Catlin, 21-23.

79. Conversation with life-long Gary resident and trade-unionist, Lorenzo Crowell.

80. "Social Trends and Racial Tensions During the 1960s," *Steel Shavings, 25*, 1996, ed. James B. Lane, 112.

81. Catlin, 23-27.

82. Lane 1992, 69.

83. Ibid., 69.

84. Catlin, 26-27.

85. *Race, Reform, and Rebellion*, 114-126. The problem of inadequately formulated agendas for African-American social movement is inextricably bound to the problems of monist, or single-oppression, analyses. A number of incisive and persuasive arguments have been provided by African-American scholars and activists. Among the most useful have been those found in Allen 1965, Reed 2000, and Collins 2000.

86. Ibid., 114-126.

87. Ibid., 132-133.

88. William E. Nelson Jr. and Philip J. Meranto have provided a useful, though not universally accepted, discussion of some of the characteristic features of these crises which caught black Power advocates unawares. See *Electing Black Mayors: Political Action in the black Community*, 1977, 336.

89. Zillah Eisenstein's underappreciated volume (1984), *Feminism and Sexual Equality: Crisis in Liberal America*, is one of the most lucid of available accounts treating the agenda of restructuring as a means of retrenchment and resuscitation of White male privilege. See chapters 1 and 2 in particular.

90. Lane 1992, 70.

91. Ibid., 70.

92. Catlin, 1-2.

93. Capital and Communities in black and White: The Intersections of Race, Class, and Uneven Development, Gregory D. Squires, 1994, 2-3.

94. Sacks 1988, 13.

95. Ibid., 14.

96. "Employment Implications of a Changing Health-Care System," Fred McKinney, in *Slipping Through the Cracks: The Status of Black Women*, eds. Margaret C. Simms and Julianne M. Malveaux, 1986, 200-213.

97. Collins 2000, 21-43; and *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought*, Beverly Guy-Sheftall, 1995, 1-22.

98. Collins 2000, 9.

99. "Theorizing Race, Class, and Gender: The New Scholarship of Black Feminist Intellectuals and black Women's Labor," Rose M. Brewer, in *Theorizing Black Feminisms: The Visionary Pragmatism of Black Women*, eds. Stanlie M. James and Abena P. A. Busia, 1994, 14.

100. "The Politics of Black Women's Studies," Gloria T. Hull and Barbara Smith, in *All the Women Are White, All the Men Are Black, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women's Studies*, eds. Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, 1982.

101. Methodology of the Oppressed, Chela Sandoval, 2000, 44.

102. *Home Girls: An Anthology of Black Women*, Barbara Smith, 1983, 272.

103. *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color*, eds. Cherrie L. Moraga and Gloria E. Anzaldua, 2000, iv.

104. Sandoval 2000, 40-63.

105. Brewer 1993, 16.

106. Mullings 1998, 131-158.

107. Guy-Sheftall 1995, 1-2.

108. Smith 1983, 43.

109. "To Be Black, Male, and Feminist: Making Womanist Space for Black Men on the Eve of a New Millennium," Gary Lemons, in *Feminism and Men: Reconstructing Gender Relations*, eds. Steven P. Schacht and Doris W. Ewing, 1998, 43-66.

110. *Women and the Politics of Empowerment*, (eds.) Ann Bookman and Sandra Morgen, 1988, 8-11. See also *Women and the Politics of Class*, Johanna Brenner, 2000, 292-318.

111. *Feminist Research Methods in Social Research*, Shulamit Reinharz, 1992, 164.

112. "Gender and Grassroots Leadership," Karen Brodkin Sacks, in *Women and the Politics of Empowerment,* Bookman and Morgen, 78-80.

CHAPTER II

INTRODUCING THE STUDY SUBJECTS

A brief introduction of the women of this case study will be instructive for several reasons. First, this cohort of African-American working-class women represents a populous political and social grouping for which U.S. social scientists and citizens still have little reliable knowledge.[1] Indeed, relatively recent scholarship has underscored the fact that customary notions of what it means to be a working-class woman of color in the United States are usually more informed by social myth than by any evidence of empirical investigation. A recurring consequence of such mythology has been the racialization[2] of the concept of "woman."

Second, "getting to know" the workers of this study can help us begin to rethink the ways in which the narrow definition (and denigration) of racial-ethnic women is also exacerbated—especially within communities of color—when women are gendered in simplistic and restrictive ways to promote and articulate specific racial-ethnic identities[3] deemed useful in, and for, those marginalized communities. While this gendering of racialized beings and groups is too seldom treated as a notable source of political disempowerment; the process nonetheless undermines our ability to understand how oppressed social groups cope with the unequal power relations that shape their lives. By considering information supplied by working-class women themselves, we have an

opportunity to learn more than is possible by acquiescing to the most widely-accepted myths of the day.

Third, an introductory profile of the study subjects will be useful because expanding our knowledge of black women workers will inform our understanding of why dramatic improvements in the legal status and quality of life for many U.S. women during the past several decades have not substantially enhanced the life chances and democratic participation of all.[4] Even with the notable advances that have been made to overcome long-standing gender and sexuality-based inequities; millions of women in this country still struggle to maintain themselves, their families, and their communities within a context of sacrosanct privilege and widening disparities[5] of power. As will become evident, the black workers of this study represent this much larger group of Americans for whom the everyday conditions of existence are most aptly characterized by the concept of oppression.[6] By beginning to develop an understanding of their lived experiences—and of their own reflections on those experiences—we may be able to eventually arrive at more useful insights into how their strategies for survival and resistance might inform and inspire social movement(s) to challenge hegemonic relations of power.[7]

The Subjects

Alter Jean Moss, 42 at the time of the interview, is the youngest woman of the study, and was born (1962) and reared in Gary. During her childhood years she and her six siblings lived with both her mother and father. Her father was a steelworker at the former Blau-Knox Steel Company, while her mother worked at the former Simmons

Mattress Company. Alter Jean and her siblings learned about paid and unpaid labor early, helping out in a neighborhood candy store as well as doing chores within the household. Alter Jean graduated from Calumet High School, where her classmates and teachers were of mixed racial-ethnic backgrounds; although the majority was white. Prior to beginning full-time work in health care as an adult, Alter Jean worked in a nursing home as a teenager.

Louella Wallace, 48 at the time of our interview, was born in Gary in 1956, and has grown up in the "City of Steel." She spent her childhood with her mother, her father, and her three brothers and three sisters. Louella's father worked as a steelworker and her mother worked as a nurse's assistant. Within her household, Louella shared a number of chores with her siblings: together they learned to cook (her mother did most of the cooking), clean house, wash dishes, wash cars, and care for siblings during their parents' absences. During her years of primary and secondary schooling, Louella's classmates and teachers were all black. Louella graduated from high school in Gary and has taken some non-credit courses—primarily Labor Studies—at Indiana University Northwest. Prior to entering health care, Louella worked in a restaurant (where her Greek boss demanded that she do "everything" except handle money), and as a bartender.

Bernita Drayton was 50 at the time of the interview, and was born in 1954. Like Alter Jean and Louella, Bernita was born and reared in Gary. Bernita grew to adulthood with both parents and one sister. Her father was a steelworker, while her mother worked for wages as a salesperson. Bernita notes that while growing up, she and her sister did "everything" within the home: dusting, vacuuming, cooking, washing, and ironing. A

high school graduate, Bernita has taken some college courses as well. Throughout her years of formal education, Bernita's classmates and teachers were of diverse racial-ethnic backgrounds. Prior to entering health care, Bernita had never done any other kind of work for wages.

Priscella Wilson, 51 when interviewed, is an avowedly proud native of Gary. Born in 1953, she has lived her entire life in Gary, Indiana ("G.I."). Early life was quite difficult for Priscella, her father, mother, and brothers and sisters; at one point the entire family lived in an old railway box car. Priscella's father worked for wages laying carpet and as a steelworker, while her mother worked outside the home as a hotel worker. Priscella and her siblings worked around the home, keeping the inside and the outside clean and neat. The siblings also kept paper routes and did community work. Throughout her primary, intermediate and secondary schooling, Priscella's classmates and teachers were black. A graduate of Gary's Roosevelt High School, she has also completed two years of college. Prior to entering the health care field, Priscella's only form of employment had been canvassing as a member of the campaign staff for Richard Gordon Hatcher during his first mayoral campaign.

Wilma Autry, 52 at the time of our interview, was born in 1952, and is yet another native of Gary. Wilma's father was a steelworker at Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, and her mother worked as a housewife. Wilma grew up with her father, her mother, and her two brothers and five sisters. Her mother did most of the cooking and cleaning in the household; her father did most of the maintenance around the home (such as making repairs, cutting the grass, etc.). Wilma and her sisters helped their

mother with the cooking and cleaning inside the home. Her brothers washed dishes and helped their father with maintenance and other chores. Wilma completed her primary, intermediate, and secondary years of schooling with all black classmates and teachers. After graduating from high school, she completed a year-and-a-half of college, during which her classmates and instructors were of diverse racial-ethnic backgrounds. Wilma had never worked for wages at any job prior to entering the health care industry.

Pat Thomas was born in Gary in 1952, and has lived in "G.I." all of her life. She was 52 at the time of the interview. Pat grew up in her household with her mother, step-father, sister, and three brothers. Her step-father worked in the construction industry, and her mother was a steelworker. Within the household, Pat notes that sometimes her stepfather and older brother would cook. Her older sister also cooked when she got big enough. Pat and her younger brothers cleaned up within the home, and her brothers usually maintained the yard. Her mother always washed the clothes and did most of the cooking. During Pat's years of primary, intermediate and secondary schooling, her classmates and teachers were African-American. Pat graduated from high school, attained several business college certificates, and is currently continuing her pursuit of education at Indiana University Northwest. Prior to entering the field of health care, Pat was a factory worker, a secretary, and a bookkeeping assistant.

Theresa Brown, 53 at the time of our interview, was born in 1951 in Portsmouth, Ohio. When Theresa was seven years old, her mother left her biological father (who worked for Dial Soap Company in London, Ohio). Thereafter, Theresa lived with her mother, stepfather, three sisters and one brother. Her stepfather and mother made their

family living on their farm for most of Theresa's early and teenage years. Her stepfather then worked for wages at the manufacturing firm of RCA, making televisions and driving a truck. Her mom went to work as an assembly operative for General Electric Company, from which she retired at the age of 72. Within her household, Theresa and her siblings learned to clean, cook, tend the family garden, can vegetables, and work the farm. Her duties on the farm included: baling and cutting hay, rounding up animals to get them ready for market, and plowing. During her primary, intermediate, and secondary years of schooling, Theresa's teachers and classmates were predominantly white. Theresa is a high school graduate and has completed some college courses. Prior to moving to Gary in 1970, Theresa had worked for wages at Chillicothe Hospital.

Marion Epps, 54 when interviewed, was born in 1950 in Memphis, Tennessee. She moved to Gary in 1954 and continued to live with her mother, father, seven sisters and five brothers in the family home. Her father was a steelworker at U.S. Steel Gary Works, while her mother worked as housewife and mother in the home. While her mother did most of the work in the household, Marion and her siblings helped with family chores. Marion is a high school graduate, having had black classmates and teachers throughout the years of her formal schooling. Prior to entering health care, Marion worked as a salesperson at the J.C. Penny Company and as a back-order warehouse clerk.

Edna Barden was 60 when interviewed and was born in 1944 in Hattiesburg, Mississippi. Following the death of her father in a local power plant, Edna grew to early adulthood at home with her mother, her seven sisters, and her four brothers. Her mother,

who maintained the home and kept the family together, received Social Security after her husband's death. Around her household, Edna says that she and her brothers and sisters did "a little of everything:" cooking, cleaning, picking cotton to get money for school clothes, picking pecans, and baby-sitting. Edna also worked during her teen years as a "gizzard girl" at a local poultry house. Edna's classmates and teachers during her years of formal schooling were all black. Edna graduated from high school in 1963, the year she came to Gary, Indiana.

Charlotte Brown was 62 at the time of the interview, and was born in 1942. Like Edna Barden, Charlotte was born in Hattiesburg, Mississippi. She grew to early adulthood in her home with her mother, her four brothers and seven sisters. Charlotte's mother also received Social Security after her husband died. Charlotte and her siblings learned a lot about hard work, as they helped their mother with cooking, cleaning, and washing. Like Edna, Charlotte's teachers and classmates were all black during her formal school experiences. Charlotte graduated from high school in Hattiesburg, and moved to Gary in 1966. Prior to entering the field of health care, Charlotte had never worked for wages in any workplace except her home.

Mildred Wallace (no relation to Louella Wallace) was born in 1940 in Canton, Mississippi. She was 64 at the time of our interview. Mildred's mother died while she was still very young, and she grew to early adulthood in her home with her father and four brothers. Her father worked for most of his life as a farmer and laborer. Within her home, Mildred cooked, cleaned house, and did the gardening. Her brothers milked cows, cut wood, and helped their father cultivate the farm. Mildred worked for wages outside

the home as a baby sitter. She also worked in a poultry house helping the inspector, until she quit after the inspector made unwanted sexual advances toward her. Attending segregated schools from primary through secondary schooling, Mildred graduated from high school, and moved to Gary in 1957. She later continued to pursue her education by taking courses at Ivy Tech in Northwest Indiana.

Johnnie Andrews was born in 1936 in Vicksburg, Mississippi, and was 68 when interviewed. She and her family moved to Gary in 1945, when she was nine years of age. She grew up in Gary in her home with her mother, father, and sister. Her father was a steelworker at LTV Steel Company, and her mother worked as a housewife and mother in the home. Johnnie and her sister helped their mother with chores within the household. Like several other subjects of the study, Johnnie attended schools with all black classmates and teachers in Gary, and graduated from high school. Before going to work at Methodist hospital in 1976, Johnnie's only work for wages was as an A&P Grocery cashier.

Shirley Baldwin was 68 at the time of our interview, was born in Gary in 1936, and has lived in the city for her entire life. She was reared in the family household with her mother, her father, her five brothers, and her four sisters. Shirley's mother was a head cook at the Miller Beach Café, while her father was a steelworker at U.S. Steel Gary Works. Shirley and her siblings helped with household chores during her childhood years, while she attended schools with black teachers and classmates. Shirley is a graduate of Gary's famous Roosevelt High School; and after graduation, she worked for a

while as a mail order clerk at Montgomery Wards, where she did typing and sorting. She entered the health care field in 1956.

Lynette Smith was 71 at the time of the interview, and was born in Hazlehurst, Mississippi in 1933. She lived on the family farm with her father, her mother, and her sister and brother. Her father, who was white, worked as both a farmer and merchant, selling dry goods and food from his store. Lynette's mother worked as mother and housewife, caring for the home and family as well as maintaining the family garden. Lynette and her brother worked right along with their parents, with Lynette helping out in the store and with household chores, while her brother drove a paper-wood truck for wages. Lynette notes that her younger sister was too small to really help much with work around the home and farm while she was still living at home. Lynette went to grade school with all-black teachers and classmates; but when she went to high school she encountered "all races." After graduating from high school, Lynette managed to complete at least two years of college before moving to Gary in 1953. She also worked as a salesperson, selling clothes. She began working as a nurse's aide in 1980 at the former St. Mary's Medical Center.

Anna Dixon was born in 1931, and was reared in Tyler, Alabama. She was 73 at the time of our interview. Her early life was spent with her mother and father, her sister and her brother. Anna's mother died while she was very young, and her father tried hard to keep the family together by farming and working for wages as a sharecropper. Anna and her bother helped their father by picking cotton, pulling corn, and doing "just about everything" within the small household. Despite the privations and challenges of her

early life, Anna successfully pursued her formal education in segregated schools, and graduated from high school. She moved to Gary, Indiana in 1951, and found domestic work—mainly in the suburbs of Chicago—to assist her husband. Anna emphasizes the fact that she left domestic work because of low wages and her refusal to be exploited sexually by white males. At the suggestion of a friend, she sought work in health care because she "knew she had to make a better day." Prior to entering health care in 1971, Anna's only experience with paid labor was domestic work.

Summarizing the Profiles

Even a cursory examination of the foregoing profiles reveals several similarities of geographical and social location, family life, education, and labor market experience. In this section we shall briefly summarize these similarities and their possible implications as we theorize the qualitative research results of this study.

All of the subjects can be described as working-class: they and their families have always lived primarily by wages earned from the selling of their labor power; or they have earned their adult livelihoods via wages even if their families of origin were solidly or somewhat precariously[8] middle-class. While such experiences do not necessarily determine specific views, forms of consciousness, or types of militant behavior; they do suggest that the study subjects have some considerable familiarity with, and awareness of, various types of discriminatory treatment, and will have learned some specific ways of addressing workplace challenges of discrimination.

With the exception of Theresa Brown, who was born in Ohio and later moved to Gary, the cohort is evenly divided between subjects born in different regions of the

historic South and those subjects born in Gary to families having fled from the South to the Midwest region. These similarities of personal histories reflect the historic trek repeatedly made by vast numbers of African-Americans during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in search of lives free of abject want, tyranny, and terror resulting from racialization.[9] As members of families so indelibly shaped by these historic factors, it seems reasonable to expect that the study subjects will express some understanding of the sojourns endured by their families and themselves. Such collective memory can be expected to emerge in some clearly identifiable expressions of views about power and how to deal with it.

Twelve of the 15 subjects attended primary, intermediate, and secondary educational institutions in which both students and teachers were African-American. Alter Jean Moss, Bernita Drayton, and Theresa Brown had school experiences that were much more diverse; even though their early lives were profoundly shaped by race and racism, their school experiences brought them into contact with diverse racial-ethnic groupings. All of the subjects graduated from high school, and about half of them have satisfactorily completed courses beyond the high-school level. These similarities not only indicate that the subjects can all be expected to have some basic literacy and sophistication about the conditions of their lives; but they suggest that subjects may well demonstrate some discernible consciousness of group identity that will be reflected in their workplace encounters and actions.

Despite their educational successes, prior to their entry into health care, nearly all the study subjects (with the exception of Pat Thomas) had labor market experiences

within "secondary sector" occupations; jobs characterized by "low wages, few benefits, little opportunity for advancement, and unstable employment."[10] Specific jobs ranged from baby-sitting; agricultural labor, such as picking cotton and pecans; poultry house inspector-helper; electoral campaign canvasser; community center counselor; retail salesperson; waitress/bartender; nursing home service worker; and book-keeping assistant. Pat Thomas worked for a very brief period in a "lower-tier, primary sector" job as a factory operative. Such labor market experiences—largely the result of the societal structures, processes, and representations that position specific groups and "types" of people to do specific kinds of work—may contribute to subjects not only having keen understandings about workplace discriminations; but also to their being unwilling to tolerate them indefinitely.

All of the subjects were reared in two-parent families, except for Edna Barden, Charlotte Brown, and Mildred Wallace, who were raised by single mothers (Edna and Charlotte) and a single father (Mildred). This is a striking coincidence which dramatically underscores the need for closer and more thoughtful examination of widespread assumptions about the pervasive and deviant nature of single-parent, female-headed households amongst African-Americans. Moreover, the relative consistency of two-parent family arrangements in the lives of the women of this study may contribute to their emphasis on developing and maintaining strong family units of their own, committing themselves to making whatever sacrifices might become necessary, whether alone, or with a marital partner. The existence of stable family units in the lives of all the study subjects—even for those women who lost a father or a mother very early in their

lives—may also contribute to the subjects having strong personal views about the appropriate gender roles of males and females. In turn, such views may impact individual and/or collective ideas about the appropriate balance to be maintained between workplace and familial responsibilities, thereby affecting workers' individual and collective strategies of survival and resistance in various ways.

It is important to note that the study subjects' commitments to family are clearly suggested by their current familial arrangements and nurturing activities. Alter Jean and her current husband have their own household, yet are continuously visiting and offering assistance to her two adult children, nephews, siblings, and aging mother. Louella is single and lives alone, yet continues to provide living space and assistance to her adult son, who has recently experienced debilitating health. Bernita is divorced, yet she and her adult daughter and three grandchildren maintain a common household, even as Bernita struggles to help care for aging parents. Priscella maintains a household with her husband and teenage son, while continuously being attentive to the needs of her elderly mom. Wilma lives with her husband, son, and daughter, and regularly maintains close contacts with her mother and siblings. Pat and her husband have their own household, yet Pat continuously involves herself in the lives of her mother and sisters, as well as helping members of her husband's family. Theresa lives alone in Gary, yet her apartment serves as a veritable social agency in which she hears the concerns and complaints of many of her elderly neighbors. Theresa is continuously active in addressing the needs of her apartment building family. She also maintains close regular contacts with her two adult sons and her mom and sister in Chillicothe. Marion maintains a close-knit

household with her husband, son, and daughter. Edna spends much of her time caring for her husband, who has serious health challenges. She also spends considerable time caring for a local elderly couple for whom she has cared for a number of years. Charlotte Brown lives with her husband and maintains very close contact with her sister, who also lives in Gary. Mildred lives alone (she lives in the same apartment complex as Theresa), yet spends much of her time assisting her great-niece with her young children while her niece is at work. Mildred also maintains close contact with members of her family in Missouri and Alabama. Johnnie Andrews also lives alone, but is similarly involved on a weekly basis with members of her family, including her daughter and her niece. Shirley Baldwin lives alone, yet regularly cares for her granddaughter in her home, and continually assists her adult son and daughter, as well as her other family members. Lynette Smith lives alone in Allegan, Michigan, yet she is often visiting in Atlanta, New York, and Arizona, where she maintains contact with family members and assists them in a number of ways. Anna Dixon maintains a household with her grand-daughter and her infant great granddaughter. She also maintains close ties with her community, regularly volunteering in the cafeteria at a local school.

The close familial and community relationships evinced in the lives of the women in this study suggest that as we attempt to make sense of the qualitative data gained through the interview process, we may need to carefully reconsider a number of contemporary social science assumptions about a divide between "public and private" spheres of political and social activity. Initial conversations with the subjects indicate that for the workers of this research project, there may not be much of a "divide" between

the realms of paid and unpaid labor. Moreover, initial information about the subjects suggests that some rethinking of notions about how to define politics and citizenship may be in order. The activities of the women of this study seem to confirm that working-class women of marginalized communities may well be (capable of) contributing much more to the making of power relations and civil society than mere votes and donations to churches and civic associations.

The Cohort Politically Situated

When we consider the introductory profiles of the 15 women of this study, we can readily see that their notable similarities reflect economic and social features that have become synonymous with the oppression of African-American people historically. The fact that such features are reflected in the lives and memory of contemporary black women underscores the fact that the days of political oppression are not really past, despite the relative prominence of African-American faces in places of power and privilege. To further situate the subjects of this study politically, then, we need to consider the complexity of their relationships[11] within the larger populations they inhabit by virtue of their socially-constructed categories and social locations of racial-ethnicity, class, sexuality, and gender. Living amongst African-Americans in a highly-developed capitalist country in which racism and sexism continue to form "a major part of the political landscape," black working-class women often have to make choices, as political theorist Zillah Eisenstein suggests, "...between and against themselves."[12] Living as members of large social (and politicized) groups in which their own specificities are often obscured due to denial and/or exclusion of some aspects of their group and personal

identities—their gendering, their race-ethnicity, their class, or perhaps their sexualities—black women workers experience the "simultaneity" of oppressions theorized in the 1970s by The Combahee River Collective. This simultaneity (subsequently discussed as "intersectionality" by feminist scholars such as Barbara Smith, Audre Lorde, bell hooks, Deborah King, Kimberle Crenshaw, Beverly Guy-Sheftall, and others) has today become a critical focus of an expanding battalion[13] of feminist scholars, including some men.

Whether understood as "simultaneity" or "intersectionality," however; the realities of power and relative powerlessness[14] for black working-class women have positioned them such that in order to survive they must repeatedly find and/or create the means to navigate the chilly straits of the broader society while also making room for themselves in the margins mapped out for, and sometimes by, their distinct identity groups. The continuous challenges confronting black women have prompted a number of theorists to focus attention on the political and social objectives of self-definition and self-determination[15] as critical to the development of black women as individuals and as members of multiple marginalized groups. The pursuit of these objectives (in the multiple sites in which both "cultural meanings and material relations"[16] are reproduced) is one of the most telling of political processes in which the members of oppressed groups engage; it evinces both an array of unequal relations and the efforts of subaltern groups to address them. Discovering the evidence of this process—subsumed by some scholars in concepts[17] such as "infrapolitics" and "hidden transcripts"—would provide stirring indictments of the unfinished struggles for social justice and democracy within the United States as a society, and within the African-American people and their politics

of social movement. How these objectives have been understood, pursued, and realized within the daily lives of the working-class women of this study will be seen in what follows.

NOTES

CHAPTER II

1. Tamara Jones and Alethia Jones, "Women of Color in the Eighties: A Profile Based on Census Data," in *Women Transforming Politics: An Alternative Reader*, eds. Cathy J. Cohen, Kathleen B. Jones, and Joan C. Tronto, 15. See also Irene Browne, *Latinas and African-American Women at Work: Race, Gender, and Economic Inequality*, 1999, 1.

2. Ibid., 15. In raising the problems of racialization, it is important to note, at the risk of seeming redundant, that the *racialization* of women (and men) of color has usually been a process in which the establishment of racial and racist hierarchies has entailed the use of *gendered* conceptions and structures as well. The interrogation and illumination of such interplay between evolving hierarchical systems is at the heart of contemporary feminist scholarship and teaching.

3. Ibid., 15.

4. Sharon Kurtz, *Workplace Justice: Organizing Multi-Identity Movements*, 2002, 202-203ff. See also Johanna Brenner, *Women and the Politics of Class*, 2000; and *Revisioning Gender*, eds. Myra Marx Ferree, Judith Lorber, and Beth B. Hess, 2000.

5. See the fine introduction by Gay Young and Bette J. Dickerson to scholarship on women of color within the expanding terrain of global capitalist restructuring, in *Color, Class & Country: Experiences of Gender*, 1-14.

6. Patricia Hill Collins, *Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice*, 13-14ff, and *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment (Second Edition)*, 45-67. U.S. scholars often resist and reject the concept of oppression, reinforcing the flawed assumption that systematic and systemic inequalities exist only in social formations other than our own. Political theorist Iris Marion Young has provided a very thoughtful discussion of the exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural subjugation and systematic violence that constitute oppression in her volume, *Justice and the Politics of Difference*, especially Chapter Two, "Five Faces of Oppression," 39-65. See also Ann Ferguson, *Sexual Democracy: Women, Oppression, and Revolution*, 1991; and Zillah R. Eisenstein, *The Color of Gender: Reimaging Democracy*, 1994, 199-200.

7. Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "From Servitude to Service Work: Historical Continuities in the Racial Division of Paid Reproductive Labor," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History (Third Edition)*, eds. Vicki L. Ruiz and Ellen Carol DuBois, 2000, 436-465. See also Rose M. Brewer, "Theorizing Race, Class and Gender: The New Scholarship of Black Feminist Intellectuals and Black Women's

Labor," in Theorizing Black Feminisms: The Visionary Pragmatism of Black Women, 13-30.

8. For the purposes of this research, I am defining "working-class" somewhat simply, as those African-Americans who (1) have come from families in which livelihoods have been mainly earned by selling labor power for wages; and (2) who have themselves earned their adult livelihoods in this manner. Admittedly, this way of broaching the critical matter of class does not immediately reflect the complex and extremely nuanced discussions and debates that continue to challenge and inform U.S. social scientists. Suffices here to note that in considering matters of class, we will do well to note the wisdom of feminist scholars such as Teresa Amott and Julie Matthaei (1996):

> Class can be a powerful concept in understanding women's economic lives, but there are limits to class analysis if it is kept separate from race-ethnicity and gender. First,...the class relations which characterized the early U.S. economy were also racial-ethnic and gender formations.... Second, the sexual division of labor within the family makes the determination of a woman's class complicated—determined not simply by her relationship to the production process, but also by that of her husband or father.... Third, while all workers are exploited by capitalists, they are not equally exploited, and gender and race-ethnicity play important roles in this differentiation.
>
> The descriptor of 'middle-class' seems appropriate to only one subject's family. In that family, the father was white and the mother was black; and the father owned a farm and a moderately prosperous store that sold dry goods. In this family, class location and condition interacted in complex and sometimes contradictory ways with racial and gender hierarchy. See Amott and Matthaei (1996) *Race, Gender, and Work*, 23-24. Also see Joan Acker, "Rewriting Class, Race and Gender," in *Revisioning Gender*, Myra Marx Ferree, Judith Lorber, and Beth B. Hess (2000).

9. The concept of racialization is drawn from the highly-acclaimed work of Michael Omi and Howard Winant in their volume, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s*. My use of the concept here is also grounded in the work of Stephen Small's essay entitled "The Contours of Racialization: Structures, Representations and Resistance in the United States," in Race, Identity, and Citizenship: A Reader, eds. Rodolfo D. Torres, Louis F. Miron, and Jonathan Xavier Inda (1999), 47-64. In the work of these scholars, the formation of racial and racist hierarchies has been interdependent with patriarchal capitalism.

10. Amott and Matthaei, 26.

11. The complex interplay, the mutual interactions, of multiple principles of social organization—race, gender, sexuality, and class—is one of the most foreboding aspects of efforts by scholars and activists to make sense of the tangled skein of oppressions in the United States. All too often, the apparent facts of intersectionality are mentioned, yet the most illuminating way of studying intersectionality remains a matter shrouded in silence. A recent article by Leslie McCall makes a careful and instructive examination of efforts to deconstruct and analyze intersections of principles of organization, forms of oppression, and forms of identity formation. See "The Complexity of Intersectionality," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society 30*(30, Spring 2005, 1771-1800.

12. Zillah R. Eisenstein, *The Color of Gender: Reimaging Democracy*, 1994, 199-200.

13. The genealogy of contested theoretical concepts is often difficult to discover definitively. This problem is exacerbated by the power differentials between marginalized and elite social groupings. The contributions of women of color, in general, and African-American women, in particular, are therefore obscured in many feminist discussions of theory. In this context, it is important to remember the pioneering efforts of black women to advance theoretical views adequately reflecting the complex interrelationships that have constituted their domination. In contexts in which the contributions of women of color are appropriated and women of color are themselves so often excluded, the original meanings of concepts can be lost.

14. The concept of power remains a contested matter within academic and activist circles. In this research project, I have been considerably influenced by the views of political theorists such as Iris Marion Young, Nancy C.M. Hartsock, Manning Marable, James C. Scott, and Robin D. G. Kelly. There is nonetheless an abiding tension within my discussions between the notion of the curtailed-and-underdeveloped power of the oppressed and the power of the dominant elites in the society. Some scholars have regarded the central matter of power as a zero-sum game in which the dominant elites have all political wherewithal. This notion flies in the face of the daily exercise of agency (by working people) that is at the heart of this research project.

15. Collins, *Fighting Words*, especially Chapter 2.

16. Evelyn Nakano Glenn has provided a copious discussion of the elaboration of oppressive conditions in "The Social Construction and institutionalization of Gender and Race: An Interpretive Framework," in *Revisioning Gender*, eds. Myra Marx Ferree, Judith Lorber, and Beth B. Hess, 2000, especially 11-28. What is perhaps most instructive in Glenn's essay is her insistence that adequate understanding of the production and reinforcement of oppressive conditions demands that scholars examine the dialectical links between social structures and social representations. Though this

insight is not novel, it is often underestimated—even by some Marxists who speak incessantly of "overdetermination."

17. Robin D.G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class*, 1994, especially his "Introduction: Writing Black Working-Class History from Way, Way Below," 1-21.

CHAPTER III

IT WAS MORE THAN A NOTION: U.S. LIFE AND WORK FROM THE SEVENTIES TO THE MILLENNIUM

Introduction

Understanding the changing politico-economic climate of the United States between 1980 and 2000 is an unfinished task for which more thoroughgoing social science scholarship is needed.[1] Momentous and sometimes rapidly moving events during these decades have often been misunderstood in analyses of the lives of African-American workers and the American working class.[2] A potent source of such misunderstanding has been the tendency of social scientists and policy makers to underestimate the need to examine the complex intersections of social constructs such as gender, race, sexuality, and class in everyday life.[3] Equally flawed has been the prevailing disposition to evade investigations of the interplay of these constructs in the formation, policies, and practices of the U.S. state.[4] Encumbered by such tendencies, political scientists[5] have often viewed developments of a given period in a partial and muddling manner;[6] considering them to be expressions of a single type of stratification or power relation, with undue attention to the interpenetration of multiple stratifications and oppressions in U.S. society.[7] This type of theoretical "monism"[8] has frustrated efforts of scholars attempting to explicate and advance African-American politics and political

struggles during recent complex periods such as the 1980s and 1990s.[9] Such reductionist accounts have also proven problematic when activists and theorists have tried to understand continuities between the declining social movements of the 1970s and the rightward shifts of the following two decades. Despite its seeming quiescence when compared with a period such as the 1960s, the 1970s unleashed an avalanche of distressing and confusing circumstances that caught most U.S. workers unawares, and initiated trends that would assume more distressing forms later. Thus, as the 1980s arrived, working people throughout the country, including African-Americans, were beginning to experience a daunting convergence of economic, political, organizational, and ideological storms from which they would find little shelter and few defenses.

In an attempt to better understand the shifting power relations of the thirty-year period from the 1970s through the 1990s, this chapter will present a careful sketch of developments that helped to shape the current national and international imperatives of capital[10] retrenchment and restructuring. The chapter begins with a review of some of the most notable national conditions emerging in the 1970s. We will then examine conditions of black workers during the rise of Reaganism and the new right in the eighties and their starker neoliberal consequences in the nineties. Finally, we shall take a closer look at the interplay between emerging national trends and evolving conditions of Gary and Northwest Indiana, where black Gary women would confront the challenges of waged and unwaged labor.

The U. S. Seventies: A Season of Gathering Storms

The decade of the 1960s was a period of intense social movement conflicts; cataclysmic popular rebellions; savage attacks upon peaceful demonstrators hoping to realize the "true meaning of America's creed," epochal reforms, fleeting glimpses of "the beautiful community,"[11] defiant and plaintive criticisms of half-measures and political betrayals, and iconoclastic élan. Seeming somewhat less cataclysmic, perhaps, the 1970s can be described as a period of unresolved questions, escalating anger and resentment, and repeated attempts at elite control.[12] During this period, popular expressions of activism were no less persistent—at times they were even dramatically effective,[13] indicating the potential for more expansive victories. Yet such hopeful moments were gradually being effectively submerged by the increasing incidence of state repression; a deeply disturbing acceptance of such repressiveness by many members of the body politic; and intractable social movement problems reflecting political dogmatism, organizational naïveté, ideological confusion, and battle fatigue.[14] While many throughout the country were still taking stock of the questions raised and the changes being made in response to powerful upheavals[15] inspired—though not always led—from below;[16] others were aggressively preparing to arrest momentum and re-establish order. Yet given the enactment and institutionalization of reforms that had resulted primarily from the political pressures generated by mass activism, the old order of things could not be fully restored. A different-though-similar order, a new hegemony, had to be established.[17] Although the revolution needed and desired by so many had not yet been

made;[18] the country had indeed witnessed radical changes, socially and politically. Yet now, there were other changes to be made.

As the new decade began, the citizenry and its economic life were still being ravaged by the miscalculations, misdeeds, and mistakes of the U.S. war in Vietnam.[19] Steadily increasing financial costs of the war had begun to set off the first of a number of inflationary surges pushing the costs of U.S. commodities higher than those of foreign imports. By 1971, the U.S. had registered its first balance-of-payments deficit of the century. One of the results of this imbalance was the increasing inability of the U.S. to maintain the dollar as the currency standard of the world.[20] For the United States, such a development signaled an unimagined slippage from the hegemonic position it had enjoyed since WWII. Having emerged from that war as the most dominant nation in the world, financially as well as militarily and politically,[21] the U.S. had been able to establish a system of international financial arrangements and standards that enabled it "to dictate terms to other countries that ensured it access to raw materials and markets, and protected U.S. business interests abroad."[22] Yet now, by the early 1970s, along with intensifying concerns about declining productivity and growing competition from foreign nations—not to ignore the prodigious financial costs related to the war in Vietnam—Americans were also beginning to experience the economic and political pressures of a rising energy crisis ignited by the oil embargo declared against the United States and Western Europe by Arab oil producers of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).[23] The spiking oil and gasoline prices soon led to long lines of infuriated consumers and foreboding reductions in purchases of U.S.-made cars and

trucks. In turn, these reductions contributed to increased levels of unemployment. Soon, the economic woes of the nation were prompting economists and many citizens to focus more intently upon the economy than upon the continuing need for antidiscrimination efforts. As if to further emphasize the necessary retreat from racial reform to matters to economic restraint; U.S. economists soon began to use the term "stagflation" to refer to a phenomenon previously unknown (yet increasingly evident) in the United States: "low levels of economic growth, high unemployment, and persistent inflation."[24]

The ensuing ideological and political shift in public discourse was due in part to the ever-present tendency of U.S. politicians, policy makers, and media pundits to separate issues of politics from those of economics.[25] Yet the rightward shift away from civil rights reform and the expansion of participatory democracy also reflected the burgeoning evidence of weakening political will for racial justice that Martin Luther King, Jr. had prophetically denounced in 1967. By that time an astute veteran of the ebbs and flows of social change movements, King had warned of the retreat from justice that was gathering momentum and developing its organizational forms:

> There has never been a solid, unified and determined thrust to make justice a reality for Afro-Americans. The step backward has a new name today. It is called the 'white backlash.' But the white backlash is nothing new. It is the surfacing of old prejudices, hostilities and ambivalences that have always been there. It was caused neither by the cry of Black Power nor by the unfortunate wave of riots in our cities.... The white backlash is an expression of the same vacillations, the same search for rationalizations, the same lack of commitment that has always characterized white America on the question of race.[26]

Dr. King's stinging rebuke was accurate, timely and undoubtedly warranted. Yet it would indeed be a serious mistake to narrowly define the emerging backlash as simply

a consequence of racial-ethnic tensions. The existing apprehension, ambivalence, panic, and determined defense of racial advantage were inextricably entangled with intensifying insecurities about wages, unemployment, prices, taxes, family and societal stability, and the overall standard of living possible in the United States.[27] As mounting evidence convinced business and political elites that the economies of the U.S. and other major capitalist countries were entering dire straits; demands for the expansion of rights for previously marginalized groups loomed ominously as unwanted impositions and unnecessary costs. Many middle- and working-class Americans were also balking at the prospects of further reforms, for they now viewed the expansion of rights and political participation as dispiriting losses of advantages to which they felt accustomed and entitled.[28]

Many of these Americans found an effective voice to express their anxieties and anger in the presidential campaigns and administrations of Richard M. Nixon during the late sixties and early seventies. While his appeals for racial normalcy lent greater credence to the voices of the wealthiest conservative advocates of racial hierarchy, Nixon's political presence also had a certain mollifying effect on those who felt included in his rhetoric about America's "silent majority." Moreover, by besting George Wallace[29] with his own "Southern Strategy;" by dismantling policies and programs enacted under Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty; by supporting and advancing "riot control" and the violent quelling of the Black Panther Party and other dissident groups;[30] by attempting to weaken the Voting Rights Act;[31] and by rejecting the Kerner Commission Report on U.S. racial conditions as "divisive," Nixon helped to legitimize

and galvanize the racial retreat of many of the country's working-class and middle-class whites.[32] And while Nixon's political successes certainly helped to embolden the emerging backlash as a racial phenomenon; by the early 1970s other conditions were moving a confused and unsuspecting body politic from resentment toward retrenchment. Advocates for previously powerless groups were now in constant motion, raising competing demands—for blacks, Latinos, whites, and other "minorities." As inflation rose, weekly wages fell, the federal government continued its intervention to employ the jobless, and the numbers of Latina/o and Asian immigrants increased. Contending political forces now seemed on a collision course.[33]

Confluent with rising alienation about the curtailment of racial advantages and the expansion of racial-ethnic[34] rights, many Americans were also clamoring against abortion and the proposed Equal Rights Amendment,[35] as well as the growing public visibility and demands of gay men and lesbian women.[36] The inflammatory nature of these complex issues echoed profound questions which activists had raised in other periods about the very nature of liberal democracy itself.[37] To be sure, the demands for expanded rights of oppressed groups[38] focused attention on the history of political and economic contradictions between the hallowed group and individual rights of wealthy white males and the paltry rights of the majority of Americans—including the majority of whites.[39] In fact, many of the political, economic, and social demands raised in this period also revealed the power of African-American struggles to engender and enliven the struggles of other oppressed groups for democracy.[40]

Beyond the urgent concerns that some hoped Watergate would obscure,[41] there were other disheartening developments that could neither be dispelled by the railings of Democrats nor the often-ineffectual activism of political radicals. Capital was literally taking flight, moving operations—including good-paying jobs, tax contributions, and financial investment potential—from "frostbelt" (the Midwest and Northeast) to "sunbelt" (the South and the West).[42] Stating this more starkly, businesses were now moving in search of areas where their costs could be lowered; they were seeking areas where unions were less powerful and/or areas where unions were fewer in number.[43] Inflation was also frighteningly on the rise, eroding buying power and hindering investment. Convergent with mass lay-offs due to capital flight, the problem of "stagflation" seemed to be a new reality characterizing U.S. life.[44] Fundamental dislocations were in process and the welfare state seemed ill-equipped to address them. Increasingly, the federal state seemed unable to ameliorate the nation's economic woes. Despite its impressive efforts, the welfare state was now being targeted for its inability to successfully treat the disease of economic crisis. Critics were now clamoring that the programs of the federal government, unlike their New Deal predecessors, were no longer providing much-needed cures for the maladies of capitalist boom-and bust. Instead, the state now seemed to causing the symptoms. The economy was sluggish, state revenues were low, major cities were nearing bankruptcy, and taxpayers were beginning to revolt in California, as the proponents of "Proposition 13" were developing momentum. As demands for relief were being mounted from all sides, the federal deficit was growing, and the "fiscal crisis of the state" was fueling antistatist sentiments.[45]

Increasingly, the backlash of the seventies was revealing itself as a rising tide of unstable political sentiments, illiberal agendas and protracted efforts washing against the fragile levees of racial and gender reform and the straining sea-wall of welfare state protections. No less disturbing was the fact that the rising waters of reaction fed by the eddies of race and class anger were also swelling from concerns about the perceived "decline" of "the patriarchal, white, heterosexual, nuclear family and the traditional male role as head of household.[46] As millions grew increasingly alienated against groups of "other" Americans who had for so long been invisible, antistatist sentiments continued to mount against the U.S. welfare state, whose interventions were being associated with the economic and political foundering of the country.[47]

Disaffections with the U.S. welfare state were also being shaped by events beyond the boundaries of the United States. The military, political, and economic reversals experienced by the U.S. in Vietnam, Nicaragua, and Iran were clearly establishing the fact that the long-standing hegemony of the U.S. was slowly being eroded on the world stage and also in the minds of many Americans.[48] This erosion had been spurred along during the 1960s by Third World forays for independence and liberation. It was also being more dramatically reflected in the declining structure of the Bretton Woods system that had dominated international finance since the end of WWII.[49]

In retrospect, then, the discomfiture and resentment of this period, so often seen as the effects of the independent workings of race, or class, or patriarchy, should more properly be understood as the results of these interdependent factors in U.S. history, culture, and politics. The chief symptom of the morbid mood seemed to be an

embittering sense of loss felt by many within the country: loss of control of civic (and racial) order; loss of U.S. dominance as the world's leading economic, financial, and military power; loss of faith in the inevitable "rightness" of American moral leadership; and perhaps most frightening, a destabilizing sense of betrayal—particularly amongst working- and middle-class whites—of their certainty that their "rights" to achieve the "American Dream" could and would be secured. Especially nettlesome was the fact that despite massive efforts made by the federal and state governments to correct racial wrongs; the protests of various racialized groupings had not lessened but had intensified.[50] Frankly speaking, many of these Americans were now fed up. So much had been promised, so much money had already been spent, by the federal programs of the Great Society. Yet now, in the midst of intensifying economic turmoil, the new beneficiaries of government help seemed to demanding more; while many who were paying the costs were outraged. Enough was enough.[51]

Although there is well-reasoned doubt among some scholars as to whether Nixon can accurately be defined as a representative of the new right,[52] his campaigns and administrations provided a kind of rallying centre for many in the country who were profoundly disturbed by racial tensions. Though an exploration of the issue would prove a digression here; it would be quite instructive to consider the ways in which Nixon and his aides learned from the strengths and limitations of George Wallace's early pursuit of presidential power to gradually outmaneuver him in providing old and new conservatives with fortifying responses to a plethora of unsettling issues.

Nixon demonstrated a rather unique ability to articulate contrasting political positions. In fact, notwithstanding their eventual show of hubris, disdain for democracy, and utter bungling, Nixon and his aides demonstrated a remarkable deftness in manipulating bourgeois statecraft.[53] While helping to unify the country's emergent racial backlash,[54] his administration also helped to promote considerable confusion and misdirection among African-Americans (and their liberal supporters).[55] By his perceptive and aggressive public support of Black Power as Black Capitalism;[56] his strengthening of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission between 1968 and 1972;[57] his administration's enforcement of the landmark AT&T-EEO Consent Decree; and his revival of the Philadelphia Plan (which demanded all contractors of large federally-funded projects to establish "numerical goals and timetables" in order to insure desegregation of their workforces);[58] Nixon muted African-American criticisms of his administration while also successfully manipulating political contradictions amongst blacks to forestall movement radicalization.[59] Nixon's later embrace of Patrick Moynihan's call for "benign neglect" further reinforced what one scholar has referred to as the undeniable "stagnation that overcame blacks during his administration and continued for years to come."[60] In fact, Nixon's statecraft helped to undermine the capacity of African-Americans to consolidate and extend the gains of the 1960s beyond the relatively small percentage of the black middle class. Admittedly, it was not statecraft alone that so adversely affected the fortunes of African-Americans. Automation within the labor market and the continuing shift from manufacturing to service occupations also converged to close off anticipated opportunities.

Simultaneously, while these changes helped prepare the conditions for black existence in an "underclass,"[61] they were also contributing to the right turn that would soon impact the entire U.S. working class. Such changes had impacted the manufacturing sector in which blacks had been striving for decades to make a better life for their families and communities. In turn, this decline in the number of "good jobs" had a profound impact on both black women and black men.[62] It is also important to remember, as William Harris has pointed out, that the country went through two very painful recessions during Nixon's terms. The resulting economic and social decline gave renewed impetus to both the "white backlash" against blacks and the rising opposition to a liberal government that had tried to help them with the tax dollars of good, hard-working, white Americans.[63]

Any careful assessment of Nixon's presidential politics reveals an exercise of power that defies easy inferences. Despite his contradictory and crisis-ridden tenure as U.S. President, one of Nixon's most important services to U.S. capital is seldom examined thoughtfully. Nixon's rise to the office of U.S. President helped to facilitate the emergence of "a major realignment of the two major political parties." This political rapprochement may well have been initiated out of widespread, cross-party concerns about stemming the tide of racial reform; yet it would soon more clearly reflect the ominous convergence of racial imperatives with those of class and gender as well.[64] In turn, that convergence of ill political and economic winds would shortly unleash a "perfect storm" upon the workers of the United States.

One of the most profound expressions of the converging apprehensions and the search for common ground amongst U.S. capitalists regarding their profitability and

political strength was the creation of the Business Roundtable, in 1972. A reincarnation of previous corporate organizational efforts as early as 1965,[65] this organization enabled corporate businesses to establish a powerful legislative agenda to defeat consumer protection and labor law reform, and to promote the enactment of pro-business tax, regulatory, and antitrust legislation.[66] This legislative plan constituted a major weapon in a battle plan U.S. capitalists were unfolding in order to reorganize themselves as a class and reassert their economic and political dominance in the face of enlivened democratic participation and (what some considered) overwrought expectations of equality.[67] Across the country, numerous workers' struggles for racial as well as gender reforms had inspired increasing workplace demands for better conditions. Militant battles had also been fought to end race and gender exclusions in trade unions.[68] By the 1970s such battles, across numerous industries and varying labor market sectors, had not only resulted in financial losses due to strikes and other job site disturbances. These struggles from below had also created widespread instability that threatened a further heightening of political consciousness and working-class solidarity. The radical potential of such possibilities were not lost on the representatives of capital.

As a result of their general interests in forestalling further political and social upheaval, corporate business leaders and their legal assistants used the Business Roundtable to oppose the passing of any legislative initiatives such as bills for consumer protections, labor law reforms, antitrust legislation, or regulations of corporate enterprise. Clearly on a mission to buttress their abilities to act as a class, representatives of U.S. capitalism had come to see such legislation as impediments to profit-making; as eventual

costs and constraints that could strengthen the abilities of working people to oppose and resist the objectives of business elites.[69]

The coordinated efforts of the Business Roundtable represented only one of several strategies by which business leaders sought to fundamentally change the workings of the economic and political accord to which "big capital" and "big labor" had agreed in the post-WWII climate of economic boom. In addition to their legislative assault, corporate leaders also sought to move their business operations to lower-cost regions within the United states or in other parts of the globe; to diminish, undermine, and/or destroy the power of workers to resist employers through trade unions; and to reorganize the processes of work to achieve maximum "flexibility" in every possible aspect of business operations.[70]

Even as prudent social analysts must be able to illustrate how the fortunes of U.S. workers were shaped by the imperatives of profit during the 1970s; it is also necessary to explain how decisions of U.S. capital revealed their concerns for maintaining political legitimacy, authority, and dominance. This interplay between political and economic imperatives can be seen in the emergence of the Trilateral Commission in 1973. Resulting from the organizational initiatives of such economic and political leaders as David Rockefeller, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Jimmy Carter, Walter Mondale, Cyrus Vance, Andrew Young, and Paul Volker; the emergence of the Trilateral Commission was rooted in a long tradition of economic and ideological planning by elites of the United States, Japan, and Europe.[71] Focusing on the challenges posed to international capitalism by economic and political struggles from below, the emergence of the Trilateral Commission

during the 1970s signaled a broad front designed to strengthen the hand of international capitalism around the globe.[72]

A particularly insidious aspect of the Commission's work was its articulation of anti-democratic concerns expressed in a report entitled "Report of the Trilateral Task Force on Governability of Democracies." The section on the United States, written by political scientist Samuel P. Huntington, revealed certain very disturbing assumptions and ideals regarding popular strivings for democracy in advanced capitalist societies. No less foreboding were the conclusions in the report regarding the need to strengthen capitalist political power if democracy was to survive in the contemporary world.

The Commission report actually reflected the heightened tensions between the pursuit of profits and economic stability and the buttressing of the political and ideological legitimacy of the U.S. system. The intense social movement upheavals that had wracked the U.S. body politic since the late 1950s had engendered profound questions about the legitimacy of U.S. democracy and the validity of popular allegiance to it. In order to mollify political criticisms and bolster faith in the system, the state had become more involved in the life of the economy on the behalf of capital.[73] Yet as it's role in economic and social life expanded—wielding both carrot and truncheon—the state's own actions revealed that it was neither invincible nor the neutral force of social contract myth, benignly ruling for the benefit of all. As elites grew more apprehensive about the state's capacities for curing the economy and controlling the body politic, however; masses of people had become more conscious and conscientious as political subjects, enlivening participatory democracy to unimagined levels. As radical scholar

Alan Wolfe has put it, "In short, at the moment when capitalism no longer seemed to be working, democracy was just beginning to work."[74] In stark contrast to this expanded citizen participation in democracy, the pessimistic and authoritarian tone of the report on governability was especially disturbing; conveying the writers' indignant alarm that "all the traditional agencies" for the political socialization of U.S. and Western European populations were being broken down by the pressures of popular participation. In fact, Huntington had excoriated the "democratic distemper" of the citizenry, and denounced the "democratic surge of the 1960s" for challenging all of the existing systems of authority.[75]

If the Trilateral Commissions' report on governability revealed a predominating—albeit controversial[76]—trend of authoritarianism; the central theme of a second report, "Continuity and Change in Industrial Relations Systems in Western Europe, North America and Japan," revealed the Commission's unabashed commitment to capitalist control over the working classes of industrialized states. The main fear expressed in the report was that workers would react to rising unemployment in industrialized states with recurring demands for improved union protections of job security. That probability seemed to foreshadow a second, the likely opposition of workers to the notion of "joint responsibility for the efficient management of the enterprise." At bottom, the report was calling for workers to make a fundamental shift in their understanding of the relationship between workers and their employers. Despite abundant historical experience to the contrary, workers were now expected to embrace

the notion of cooperation, rather than conflict, between employers and "their" employees.[77] For workers in the United States, seduced for decades by the post-WWII "accord" between "big business" and "big labor" into relying on the paternalism of capital and the leverage of unionism; this call should have signaled a complete abandonment of "class peace." Yet many still held to their faith in the post-war agreement, failing to understand that the accord had always been predicated on rising, not falling, profitability.[78]

This brief examination of the orientation and work of the Trilateral Commission underlines the importance of its development during the 1970s. The Trilateral Commission brought together many leading representatives of capital, civil society, and labor, with oft-diverging perspectives on problems and effective solutions.[79] The organization's views and activities were not universally representative of capitalist thinking—even provoking significant opposition "by members of their own class.[80]" Nevertheless, there was a collective audaciousness and purposefulness reflected in the anti-democratic stance and predatory designs of the Commission during this period. The U.S.-inspired destabilization and overthrow of the democratically-elected and socialist government of Salvador Allende in Chile, on Sept. 11, 1973,[81] demonstrated the lengths to which capitalists were prepared to go to change the balance of political forces and the day-to-day rules of "business as usual" in the United States and around the globe. Since the usurpation of the Chilean people's sovereignty and the tortures and murders of Allende and thousands of Chileans; scholarly investigations have revealed that the imperialist aggression against Chile was clearly a "dress rehearsal" indicative of the

evolving international vision of capitalists regarding the maintenance, defense, and expansion of the capitalist order.[82]

Despite abiding political differences between representatives of the Trilateral Commission; its formation, deliberations, and activities presaged the neoliberal agenda that would shortly be extended beyond Chile to the furthest reaches of the known planet.[83] Like the Business Roundtable, the Trilateral Commission showed that the capitalist class was acting more aggressively—both nationally and internationally—to realize its organizational, political, and economic interests. Soon, corporate employers hoped to completely rid themselves of the political and legal nation-state constraints that had enabled workers and progressive civil societies to effectively contend with their capitalist masters.[84] Only a concerted counter-offensive of these forces would be able to stop this new capitalist assault.

The Emergence of the New Right

No discussion of major U.S. political trends emerging in the 1970s would be complete without some consideration of the new right. Notwithstanding the enormity of its impact upon working people in the United States, this political phenomenon has proven somewhat difficult for social scientists to clearly define. It has also proven itself a formidable foe for social change activists to address in practice. This difficulty may partly reside in the fact that the new right has both international and national dimensions. The new right has not only developed within the United States; but since the late 1970s it has also appeared within all major industrial democracies of the West, and it has increasingly emerged within "Third World," or "Global South" societies as well.[85] It

thus has evolved with certain features that have been replicated internationally, while its forms in specific societies have reflected a wide range of national characteristics. For purposes of this discussion it seems most useful to focus primarily on the most basic features of the new right as it emerged in the United States during the latter years of the 1970s. Such a focused discussion will provide a more nuanced explication of the broad political currents which converged within the dynamics of Gary, Indiana, the focal point of this study. Given the confusion that often exists in discussions of the new right, it is prudent to begin by defining the problem. A number of insightful scholars have defined the phenomenon with an eye to its appeals to many Americans based on their fears regarding the profound changes engendered by the powerful social movements of the sixties and the economic and political shocks during the seventies and eighties. One of the most thoughtful accounts has been provided by Michael Omi and Howard Winant, who have defined the new right in the United States as "a contemporary attempt to create an authoritarian, right-wing populism—a populism fuelled by resentment."[86] The widespread "transformations and dislocations" experienced during the 1970s and 1980s engendered grave fears amongst U.S. citizens; much that had once been taken for granted was being questioned.[87] Amidst the consternation within a social order and political culture largely affected by self-righteousness and self-absorption, "commonly held concepts of nation, community, and family" had been shaken loose from their moorings, with "no new principle of cohesion, no new cultural center...to replace them." Where new collective and individual identities had begun to emerge, they "remained fragmented and politically disunited."[88] Given the pervasive doubt, anger, fear, and resentment

throughout the society, traditional conservatives seized the opportunity to provide what they saw as an effective means of responding. The new right, "a loose movement of conservative politicians and a collective of general-purpose political organizations which have developed independently of the political parties," was their answer.

> Only the appearance of the new right in the middle 1970s gave the millions of threatened members of the "silent majority"...any relief. The new right was a well-organized alternative to the moral and existential chaos of the preceding decades: a network of conservative organizations with an aggressive political style, an outspoken religious and cultural traditionalism, and a clear populist commitment. The main new right affiliates emerged in the 1970s: the American Conservative Union, the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), the Conservative Caucus, the Young Americans for Freedom (whose origins were earlier), and a group of fundamentalist Protestant sects incorporating millions of adherents. Leading figures of the 1980s new right were fundraiser/publisher Richard A. Viguerie, Paul Weyrich (Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress), Howard Phillips (Conservative Caucus), and the late John T. Dolan (NCPAC), as well as activist Phyllis Schlafly (Eagle Forum, STOP-ERA) and fundamentalist evangelist Rev. Jerry Falwell (Moral Majority)... The key new right think tank is the Heritage Foundation, founded by brewer Joseph Coors and Paul Weyrich in 1973.[89]

It is important to underscore the fact that while many Americans embraced similar negative interpretations of the gains being won by previously marginalized groups; there were profound differences of class, gender, sexuality and race—not to mention income, wealth and education—that were often obscured by mainstream interpretations, and common sense understandings, of those changes. The new right meant different things to different people, and it yielded different benefits to its different adherents. What seems most significant, however, is that the actual accomplishments of the movement resulted in the political and economic undoing of most Americans. This point can be borne out by

a brief examination of the characteristic policies and practices of the new right as it emerged.

While many Americans have tended to associate the emergence of the new right mainly with the presidential administration of Ronald Reagan; the emergence of new right politics and practices can be seen in the administrations of several presidents, from Reagan extending back through Carter and Ford, to Nixon—the administration of Nixon being the most liberal. As noted earlier, scholars of the Nixon years have identified contradictory approaches; some reflective of new right political tenets and practices[90] that would become more developed in later years, some that reflected a continued reliance upon welfare state interventions to effect economic and political changes. While Nixon indeed sought "to dismantle the programs and policies established under Johnson's War on Poverty as well as to undermine busing and the 1965 Voting Rights Act;[91]" these attacks, which undercut reliance upon the welfare state protections and its interventions, also stood in contradiction to Nixon's reliance upon the welfare state to address problems within the economy such as inflation and unemployment.[92] Nonetheless, Nixon's efforts clearly contributed to the antistatist theme as well as the race antipathy characteristic of the new right.[93]

As a recognized Republican functionary[94] whose apparent task was to provide "stability" during the state's resolution of the Watergate scandal, Gerald R. Ford presided over the pardoning of Richard Nixon and the maintenance of "business as usual." While Ford's brief tenure was designed to buttress the façade of normalcy while maintaining U.S. authority around the globe,[95] the significance of Watergate was not lost by the

country's most politically progressive scholars. African-American political theorist, William Strickland, of the Institute of the Black World (now-defunct), defined the scandal as "...the natural consequence of a government faced with the problem of trying to preserve the façade of democracy...while waging imperialist war abroad, plundering the public treasury at home, and supporting reaction wherever it can be found."[96] The trends of repression and disdain for democracy that had been so firmly established during the Nixon years were not entirely abated under Ford, though their gravest consequences would not become apparent until after Ford left the White House.[97] Ford stayed the course of reactionary foreign policy, as had been projected by some of the world's most incisive journalists.[98] Perhaps Ford's most dramatic demonstration of his commitment to new right principles could be seen in the "response" of the Ford Administration during the 1974 recession (the deepest since the Great Depression) and the 1975 budget crisis of New York City. At a time when national production had declined by more than 10%, and with almost a tenth of the U.S. workforce unemployed, Ford rejected most efforts by Congress to increase social spending on jobs, education, and reconstruction of the infrastructure. Ford's refusal to the plea for government help made by New York Mayor Abraham Beame resulted in thousands of firings of teachers and police officers, as well as drastic cutting of social programs and support for public education within the city.[99] Although often remembered as one of the country's most nondescript presidents, Ford helped to advance the aims of the new right assault on "big government" in ways that left indelible scars in one of the country's largest cities.

Notwithstanding his apparent racial liberalism, Jimmy Carter reflected the strengthening of new right fiscal conservatism, as well as its rejection of "Great Society-style welfare initiatives—including proposals from his fellow Democrats for federal programs promoting full employment, funding for abortion services for poor women, and national health care insurance."[100] Having campaigned as a Christian moralist unsullied by the corrupt politics of Washington, Carter nevertheless proved a strong ally to big business, when he offered lackluster support to organized labor's efforts in 1978 to reform the National Labor Relations Board. He also curried greater favor with corporate interests by seeking to curb wages and leading initiatives to deregulate the airline, railroad, telephone and trucking industries.[101] One of the most insidious, and long-term, consequences for U.S. workers of the new right orientation of Carter's Democratic administration came in the wake of its 1979 "rescue" of the Chrysler Corporation. Loaning billions of dollars to help bankrupted corporations was nothing new, as the 1971 bailout of Lockheed clearly indicated. "But the conditions under which Washington guaranteed the Chrysler loan opened the door to a further decline in the standard of living of millions of American workers. Together with the big banks, federal officials demanded that Chrysler's workers make hundreds of millions of dollars in wage concessions as part of the bailout package."[102] In turn, these concessions helped to establish the infamous concessionary bargaining that would shortly devastate workers and gravely undermine the organized trade union movement. Even more indicative of his administration's new right orientation, perhaps, was Carter's 1979 appointment of conservative Wall Street banker Paul Volker as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

Known within the stern world of Wall Street banking as a confirmed monetarist,[103] Volker advocated the free play of the free market and a minimalist role for state intervention in the economy. Monetarists also held that changes in price levels could be effected through changes in the supply of money. Perhaps more than any other single act of the Carter Administration, then, the appointment of a monetarist to such an economically strategic position sounded the death knell for Keynesian curatives for the boom-and-bust cycles of a mature capitalist order. Carter's decision was somewhat dictated by the rising concerns within financial markets. Although unemployment was rising, so were inflationary expectations. Carter was afraid that if he had relied on Keynesian fiscal stimuli to boost demand and fight unemployment, the financial markets would recoil.[104] Under Volker's stewardship, however, policies were instituted that severely restricted growth of the money supply and pushed interest rates to about 20%—the highest level reached since the Civil War. Such policies gravely impacted the goods-producing sectors of the economy, yielding very high prices on "big ticket" commodities and waves of plant closings across the Midwest and Middle Atlantic states. During 1982, for example, 2,700 layoffs wiped out more than 1.25 million industrial jobs in cities like Youngstown, Buffalo, Gary, Milwaukee, and Detroit. Across a declining "Rustbelt," unemployment soared to about 11%—the highest ration of unemployed Americans since 1940. As a consequence of higher interest rates, new right monetarist policies also raised the value of the dollar vis-à-vis foreign currencies, thereby resulting in U.S. autos, steel, and electronic products becoming less competitive world-wide.[105]

The New Right Strengthens Its Grip: The Coming of Reaganism in the 1980s

The new right found its most committed champion in Ronald Reagan. Leaning heavily upon the ethic of self-denial which Max Weber viewed as essential to the emergence of modern capitalism, Reagan proved instrumental in resuscitating that "conventional wisdom" grounded within the powerful Christian allegory of "the person who begins on the righteous path but then falls into sin and error from which he or she can only be redeemed by redoubled self-discipline and repentance.[106] According to economics scholar Fred Block, Reagan presented his homespun version of this allegory to the country throughout his 1980 campaign. For Reagan and other new right converts, America's great "sin" had been its abandonment of its traditional ethic of self-reliance. The hard work and self-discipline of faithful founders had been cast aside. The result had been the expansion of state activity, higher taxes, wasteful and unproductive social programs, and the dispiriting of the body politic. Only by returning to the straight and narrow path of reducing their reliance on the state would Americans be able to set themselves and their economy right.[107]

As an inveterate opponent of corporate taxation and an advocate of drastically lowering the tax rates of the rich, Reagan easily won the "overwhelming financial support" of the business community;[108] and became the virtual point person to advance the objective of U.S. capitalists: removal of all impediments to their pursuit of the highest possible rate of profit at home and abroad.[109] Reagan won only about 51 per cent of the total popular vote, yet he won the electoral count by 489 to 49.[110] This demonstrated the massive—albeit profoundly disturbing—support for Reagan by working-class and

middle-class white. Republicans actually defeated the Democrats by retaking "the solid South" and wooing larger numbers from amongst middle-class, suburban voters. Perhaps most striking of all, Ronald Reagan won half of all the votes of industrialized workers, and more than 40% of union households. Once-stalwart supporters of the New Deal and its welfare state had now become "Reagan Democrats," and helped to turn the ship of state from its New Deal and Keynesian directions toward "freer" and more "restrained" purposes.[111]

Safely ensconced within the White House, Reagan and his administration earnestly sought to restore the country's economic growth and pay for its increasing military buildup by cutting regulations, social spending and taxes. During his first year in office—and with the help of many conservative Democrats in the U.S. Congress—Reagan reduced corporate and income taxes by 25% and slashed social spending by $25 billion. Among the programs most dramatically affected were the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act Program (CETA), which had been slated for $3.1 billion in fiscal 1981; the Consumer Cooperative Bank, which had granted loans to small economic cooperatives; the federal Food Stamps Program, scheduled for a $2 billion reduction by fiscal 1983; the Guaranteed Student Loan Program, whose $2 billion budget was completely eliminated; nutrition programs for children, from which $1.7 billion would be cut by 1983; and the Neighborhood Self-Help and Planning Assistance Programs, slated for $55 million in fiscal 1981.[112]

Astute political theorists will note that the antistatist assault led by the Reagan Administration was an extremely nuanced and multifaceted process; one that

simultaneously advanced initiatives that were patriarchal, racist, and anti-working class.[113] The economic and political projects of this assault were designed to undercut welfare state interventions in ways that would resuscitate societal arrangements that had been profoundly challenged by the intense social movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Since it had been through the interventions of the welfare state that some of the most important political and economic changes had been established; neo-conservatives and new rightists had come to view the Keynesian welfare state as in crisis. This "crisis" was allegedly reflected in the entry of white married women into the paid labor force; the increased number of blacks gaining admittance to universities and workplace occupations from which they had formerly been barred; the increase in divorce rates, and the development of the feminist movement—all of which had gradually revealed the outmoded character of the traditional white patriarchal family in the United States. Although "conservative" political forces had not yet achieved unanimity regarding the requisite patterns for the patriarchal and racial hierarchies essential to a modern capitalist state; these forces were generally convinced of the need to halt the notable advances of middle-class white women, black men, and black women that had helped to exert dramatic changes in family forms, the operations of countless workplaces, and political participation. Such advances had simultaneously provided increased empowerment for working people—including single-heads of households—and further constrained employers in their workplace operations and pursuits of profit. Thus, a crucial element in the assault was the dismantling of social services that enabled previously marginalized

groups to meet more effectively the demands of the workplace and household, improving their living standards as well as their opportunities for political presence and voice.[114]

Given the importance of understanding more fully the interplay of the constructs of race, class, and patriarchy in the policies and practices of the Reagan Administration; it seems useful here to consider that interplay, and its human consequences, a bit more carefully. There were two fundamental ways in which the dismantling of social programs during the Reagan Administration was intended to drastically reduce the interventions of the welfare state in the material and political relations of U.S. life. First, the dismantling was intended to bolster the ideological divisions between the public and private spheres, between the state and the economy, and between the family and political life. At the same time, the dismantling process was intended to reinforce existing patriarchal views of "natural" and "normal" family life.[115] Conservative felt the need to strengthen existing norms in light of the contention between several forms of "families" evolving at the time. The largest number of families in this period was comprised of dual wage-earners; largely working-class households for which the traditional model was economically unfeasible. The fastest growing family form appeared to be the single-parent type headed; often by a woman of color. Only a very small minority of families actually could adhere to the "traditional" patriarchal model under capitalism; the heterosexual couple with a male "provider" and a woman at home with the children. Against the backdrop of increasing economic difficulties, and the expanding and increasingly politicized movements of U.S. women;[116] the reality of different and contending family forms was prompting many Americans to ask significant questions

about the dynamics and relations of unequal power in the U.S. system. Moreover, as political scientist Zillah R. Eisenstein has noted, within the contention of evolving family forms, critical challenges had arisen to male power, as increasing numbers of women had entered paid labor and increased both their earnings and their relative independence as social actors. Such changes have created greater demands on the welfare state for policies and programs to assist women in both their paid and unpaid labors; yet such "assistance" has also undermined the patriarchal privileges of individual men—although it has augmented the patriarchal power of the state. The complex relations of political and social power were far from being resolved, yet conservatives were seizing an opportunity to shape the outcome of the contention—and buttress capitalist flexibility—through the antistatist efforts of the Reagan Administration.

It is worth noting that conservative ideological and political efforts to confront the "crisis of patriarchal authority" were extensive. Perhaps because the efforts were focused on matters of class and race[117] no less than matters of patriarchal relations, the efforts invested in the dismantling process were unparalleled at the time. Not only were the efforts of the administration augmented by those of numerous new right activists, lobbyists, and ideologues; but it became starkly evident that similar efforts to divest the welfare state were nowhere to be found with respect to its continuing militarism and/or corporatism.[118] The widely used slogan about "getting government off the backs of the American people" thus provided a smokescreen for the actual establishment of greater state authority with respect to the buttressing of patriarchal power, i.e. the unfettered power of (white) men in households and markets.

The second way in which the dismantling process was to weaken support for the welfare state was to drastically weaken its functional capacity by eliminating the 'new class'—those who had been administering the welfare state. Given that the people who actually did the day-to-day work of the activist state were disproportionately white and black women, and black men; by cutting program funding—and thus staff—the retrenchment process would deliver a mortal blow to the Keynesian state:

> In 1976 government employed 21 percent of all women, 25 percent of all blacks, 15% of all people of Spanish origin, and 16 percent of all men. More particularly, government employed 49.9 percent of all female professionals and 34.5% of all male professionals. Therefore, government cutbacks in hiring at these levels will affect (middle-class) professional women at a higher rate than men. The dismantling of the welfare state and its personnel is directed against the gains made by these women, and by these men.[119]

The deprivation and demoralization visited upon working-class and middle-class Americans by Reagan's new right assault have been widely documented; indeed, they have often been described in Dickensian extremes. Minority workers were laid of at federal agencies at a rate 50% greater than whites. Women administrators were furloughed at a rate 150% greater than men. Minorities in administrative positions were laid off at a rate 220% that of whites in similar positions.[120] Moreover, since the massive reductions in federal aid had to be made up through tax increases at the state and municipal levels; many working Americans actually paid proportionally more in taxes than the rich.[121]

As noted earlier in this chapter, Reagan demonstrated a remarkable ability to get his new right message across to the very working people who would soon be adversely affected by the changing balance of political and economic conditions in the country.

The Reagan Administration's wholesale attack on union families and unions remains one of the most infamous measures taken in pursuit of a "neo-liberal" agenda for capital. Whereas U.S. unions during the 1970s had represented one in four workers, during the 1980s the proportion dropped to one in six. Within the private sector "organized" labor only represented about 11%. The concessionary bargaining set in motion by the Carter Administration certainly merits some blame for this disempowering state of affairs. Yet the plant closings and layoffs that scourged many unionized industries also contributed tremendously to the undoing of workers. When U.S. Steel transformed itself into the USX Corporation, closing down at least twelve steel mills, and buying Marathon Oil; the United Steelworkers of America lost some 180,000 of its members. Workers from generations of steelworkers in Gary, Indiana and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania lost opportunities to advance as their family members had; as steel industry jobs were further slashed by automation and foreign imports.[122]

Similar massive layoffs were experienced by the United Auto Workers after 1978, as Japanese companies took about a quarter of the U.S. market. Key auto makers closed factories and auto-parts makers left for less unionized and non-unionized areas in the southern and western United States and beyond, to Mexico.[123]

Yet another major challenge for workers and unionism which had emerged during the 1970s and became increasingly more aggressive and ruthless in the 1980s, was management tactics for avoiding and/or breaking unions. Employers used both the carrot and the stick in skilful combination. Within the fields of information technology, finance, and health care, some corporations offered workers "an attractive menu of new

benefits," including child care, and on-site health clubs. Yet these same employers usually remained bitterly anti-union. Increasingly, employers enlisted management consultants for advise on strategies and tactics for preventing unionization and/or busting existing unions. Employers boldly and cavalierly flouted labor laws, only to be given proverbial slaps on the wrist by a National Labor Relations Board that was increasingly more "employer-friendly." By 1984, pro-union workers were being fired at rates four times higher than in 1960. Employers returned to the tried-and-true tactic of cutting wages and, following the model established by Chrysler Corporation in 1979, demanded astronomical give-backs. During the first half of the 1980s, U.S. workers lost almost $500 billion in wage give-backs. Employer attacks on workers and their unions were particularly fierce in industries that had been deregulated in the late 1970s.[124]

It was in such a context of "concessionary bargaining" that the government employees of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO) went on strike in 1981 against the FAA. Ironically, PATCO had been one of only a few U.S. unions to support Ronald Reagan's run for President. Perhaps these highly-skilled and mainly white-and-male employees had believed that Reagan would be supportive of their concerns about the mental stress and physical strain workers had been experiencing. Indeed, the union asked the President to restaff and reform the FAA, in order to address the needs of the workers and insure the safety of the public. Yet Reagan responded with an ultimatum that workers return to work in three days or be terminated. When workers refused, Reagan fired over 10,000 workers on the spot and immediately began filling their jobs with replacements and supervisors.[125]

Coming within an economic and political context that was now stridently pro-business and anti-worker and anti-union, the summary termination of PATCO workers[126] further tipped the balance of political relations between workers and capital within the United States, and strengthened the neoliberal agenda. Every potential strike was now understood as an opportunity to bust a union. Workers throughout the country had to begin to understand that they were not merely fighting for wages and benefits; they were literally in a fight for their lives as they had come to know them.[127]

Thus far we have focused our attention primarily on the evolution of aspects of new right thinking and practice within the United States. Yet to think of new rightism as merely national in scope would be a profound misreading of the misdeeds of Reaganism. When one considers the Reagan Administration's proposal of "the largest military budget in human history, $1.6 trillion over a five-year period;" it's ideological aggressiveness and anti-communist stance towards the Soviet Union; it's imperialist and anti-socialist aggression on the small (and mainly black) Caribbean country of Grenada; and its openly white supremacist support, i.e. its "constructive engagement," for South African apartheid; one can begin to see the intent of new right foreign policy. This was a policy designed to not only reestablish the imperialist authority of the U.S. world-wide; but to insure the longevity of the capitalist order internationally, to greatly circumscribe and/or destroy existing socialist societies, and to remove any and all impediments to the pursuit by capitalists of the highest rates of capital possible. For all of its rhetoric about freedom and democracy, the Reagan administration stood in unqualified support of the most undemocratic "fascist military juntas and racist regimes around the globe."[128]

By the end of his first term in office, Ronald Reagan's new right objectives were clear for all who wanted to see. To return to the issue of power relations raised in the introduction to this chapter, the 1980s helped to achieve a radical redistribution of income from labor to capital.[129] During this decade the new right also gravely weakened, or destroyed, potential levers of power within the welfare state by which the working class, oppressed minorities and members of civil society had been able to oppose the unmitigated power of capitalists historically. Reaganism's aggressive support for business and private property rights; the new right's repeated emphasis upon the market as a panacea; the deregulation of the economy; the determined efforts to downsize government; the repeated ideological, political, and economic attempts to divest the welfare state (at least its capacity to intervene in the economic and political arrangements of the society); the administration's avowed attempts to circumscribe civil liberties and human rights (not only inside the U.S. but externally as well); Reagan's efforts to encourage volunteerism as an alternative to welfare state intervention; and the strident anti-unionism of the administration all constitute elements of what scholar Gary Teeple has defined as the neoliberal project; the project of establishing the political prerequisites for the complete unfettering of capital's ability to make profit, anywhere on the globe.[130]

The triumph of new right thinking and practice, and the extremely vulnerable and defensive position of working-class and many middle-class Americans—especially people of color—characterized the decade of the 1980s. Social change in the interests of workers would be very difficult to achieve in such an evolving order. All was certainly not utterly lost; and workers would (and could) still find ways to effectively oppose their

employers, even if they could not substantially better their conditions (witness the workers at Eastern Airlines). But struggles would be long and hard. As one astute African-American cultural worker, Gil Scott Heron, had put it, it was now "winter in America."

The Decade of the 1990s: The Ratcheting of the Neoliberal Agenda

As the decade of the 1990s began, corporate capitalists continued to reap enormous profits and enhanced political power as a result of the wage stagnation, deunionization, low taxes for big business, and the deregulatory climate engendered by the Reagan years.[131] Over time, the power of business was also strengthened considerably by the almost complete abandonment by the state of antitrust oversight and actions during the 1980s and 1990s. Within this new period of greatly-diminished legal restraint, corporations engaged in a spate of mergers, augmenting the existing concentrations of economic and political power, intensifying competition (with its consequent winners and losers), and increasing the vulnerability of employees; as companies sought more effective means of protecting profits through cost-cutting and extending workplace control. Ironically, Karen Tarlow, a Wall Street bank officer, offered a terse-but-chilling description of the new environment, "There is no job security anymore... It's very insidious how the rich get richer."[132]

By now the federal government had also strengthened the hands of U.S. capitalists by devaluing the dollar vis-à-vis the currencies of other industrial nations. Late in the 1980s, both the U.S. Treasury and the Federal Reserve had given up their Cold War

efforts to maintain the U.S. dollar as the world's key currency. As the dollar declined in value, U.S. corporations trading abroad gradually found that their commodities were becoming more "competitive." Eventually, in the years following 1986, the market shares of U.S. manufacturing exports were once again on the rise.[133]

Notwithstanding the contributions of the U.S. state and international market forces to the enhancement of capitalist power; the computer revolution enabled corporations to take dramatic strides forward. By the 1990s, the gradual expansion in the knowledge, use, and enhancement of computers finally resulted in a virtual "revolution" of workplace productivity:

> Indeed, the deployment of millions of easy-to-use computers began to replicate the productivity breakthrough bought on by the birth of the mass-production assembly line... In the 1990s, skilled programmers churned out thousands of different computer programs ("software") that allowed clerical workers and managers to perform tasks once restricted to well-trained professionals...Soon the Internet and the Worldwide Web linked together millions of terminals all across the globe. The Internet had its origins in Pentagon efforts, begun in the in the 1960s, to build a communications network capable of surviving a nuclear war and to share computer resources. But imaginative scientists and clever hackers soon spread this network well beyond the military laboratories and university research facilities of its inception...
>
> The imaginative hold of this vast network approached that of the great world-transforming technologies: steam power and the railroad in the early nineteenth century, electricity fifty years later, and the internal combustion engine during the first third of the twentieth century. Like these technologies, computerization promised a revolutionary transformation in the structure of production, the organization of society, and the meaning of work. And for those in the right place at the right time, it generated enormous wealth.[134]

As in every stage of expansion of the economic and political power of the capitalist system, the strengthening of domination (of those who profit) is reflected in widely increased impoverishment and vulnerability (of those who really do the work).

During the first half of the new decade, real family income—the actual wages of workers, adjusted to correct for the reduced buying power caused by the impact of rising prices on stagnant salaries[135]--continued to fall, despite the entrance of record numbers of women and teenagers into the labor market. Indeed, the painful costs of the reconfiguration of the U.S. economy (not only financial but social and psychological) were now being visited upon millions of families in the suburbs and college-degreed "knowledge workers," as well as upon the unemployed, the underemployed, and the "Rustbelt factory workers."[136] In a nation of increasingly distressed and overworked workers, health problems mushroomed and expenses for health care followed apace—twice as fast as the general consumer price index. The response of insurance companies in the existing environment was predictable, though nonetheless abhorrent: companies restricted coverage while demanding co-payments. By 1992, the number of Americans who were uninsured exceeded 37 million.[137]

Although a characteristic feature of the U.S. economy historically; the intermittent expansion of the economic power of the capitalist class can never be consolidated without political leadership appropriate to the evolving conditions. Millions of Americans were by now painfully convinced that their lives had not become "better off" with the Republican administrations of Reagan and Bush. True, the social and economic elites of the country were witnessing enormous profits with the new right's retrenchment efforts firmly in command. Likewise, the resulting impoverishment and the divestment of the U.S. body politic of many welfare state protections had not only diminished the capacity for challenging the mean-spirited measures taken by capital; but they had also

exerted a profoundly chilling impact on the very notion of social struggle. Still, human beings are often remarkably resilient; especially when they are facing few real options other than resistance, and still have some hope that their struggles can make some difference. In the 1990s therefore, signs were emerging that the capitalists were over-reaching themselves. Workers were gravely hindered, as business elites continued to impose prodigious pressures through the mainstream media;[138] in workplaces and unions (through their prime tactics of union bashing and union-busting);[139] in concessionary bargaining; through the implementation of Japanese "lean production" methods; with labor-management cooperation schemes; and through the promotion of a "win-win" mentality.[140] Yet some workers were still willing to fight when their backs were against the wall, as demonstrated in 1994 by auto workers of a relatively unknown local in Flint Michigan, in a losing battle against General Motors to save jobs and their dignity.[141] Despite their losses—of the strike, and eventually the plant itself—the determination of these workers was not an isolated factor in the struggle between workers and employers. In fact, as the decade of the 1990s was opening, anger—not despair—seemed to be simmering just below the surface in a number of workplaces and communities across the country.

Understandably, U.S. elites were more sanguine. The collapse of the former Soviet Union, the "End of the Cold War," and the apparent "triumph" of capitalism over socialism in 1989 had undoubtedly removed major constraints upon U.S. power internationally. Moreover, the imperialist forays in Panama and Iraq gave greater impetus to the emerging "new world order" called for by George H.W. Bush. Yet

Americans still seemed rather "skittish" about placing Americans in harms way, even if "smart bombs" were being used, as they were during the unfinished Gulf War to stay the hands of Sadaam Hussein after he had sent his forces into oil-rich Kuwait.[142] This palpable reluctance of Americans to have troops sent into complicated international conflicts was underscored by American's increasing dissatisfaction with conditions of the U.S. economy, which was entering another recession by the fall of 1990. With recession came lay-offs, but this wave was strikingly different. During the 1980s, it had largely been blue-collar workers who had received "pink slips." Now Americans who were professionals, managers, and white-collar employees were being victimized by the plague of "downsizing." Almost 2 million people lost jobs during the three years that followed the Persian Gulf War, as about 63% of U.S. corporations cut their workforces.[143] With unsettling economic conditions and less-than enthusiastic support U.S. interventions on behalf of the "new world order," the 1992 presidential election presented an opportunity which working- and middle-class Americans could ill afford to ignore. For their part, corporate interests were hoping for political leadership that would mainly defend the neoliberal agenda. The darling of the new right, Reagan, and the competent caretaker son of privilege and intrigue, George H. Bush, had served well during the opening salvoes of neoliberalism. Yet now, a new leadership seemed necessary, not only to capital but to those being overrun by the neoliberal juggernaut.

Ironically, in perhaps "the most ideologically engaging" campaign season since 1972 (in which domestic political questions took priority), it was William Jefferson Clinton who would emerge as the new head of the increasingly neoliberal state.

Ironically, because Clinton seemed to embody profound contradictions that rendered him appealing to people with strikingly different political and material needs. But in the absence of political clarity and organizational independence, questionable alternatives may appear certain. Clinton boldly presented himself as a "New Democrat," and forthrightly expressed support for the death penalty, his belief in work requirements for parents receiving welfare support for children, and his indifference to "organized" labor.[144] Yet strikingly, Clinton also had associated himself with the black-led civil rights movement of the 1960s and had also opposed the Viet Nam War while a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford University. Clinton astutely cast himself in the tradition of Franklin D. Roosevelt, and with his environmentally conscious running mate, Al Gore from Tennessee, won the attention and support of many in the electorate by promising: (1) to break budget gridlock in Washington, DC; (2) raise standards of living; (3) rebuild the nation's infrastructure; (4) establish a federally funded jobs program for welfare recipients; (5) restore higher taxes on the rich; and (6) reorganize the health care system of the country. Admittedly, the Clinton-Gore commitment to higher taxes for the rich and sweeping changes in health care delivery sent up red flags in many corporate board rooms and country-clubs; yet Clinton and his high-powered attorney wife, Hillary—herself a child of privilege and a board member for Wal-Mart—had adroitly developed their ties with the economic elite of Arkansas, during Clinton's five-year term as governor. Inside the Democratic Party, Clinton had carefully aligned himself with fellow Democrats who were pro-defense and free trade. Thus, the Clinton-Gore ticket seemed one that might address some pressing needs of the electorate while also helping to

maintain the hand of capital. Perhaps such a mix might even offer illegitimate elites an unexpected-but-necessary measure of legitimacy.

Clinton and Gore certainly seemed more palatable than either Republican (new right) warrior Pat Buchanan, or wealthy independent Ross Perot. Both Buchanan and Perot opposed free trade, and this was undoubtedly problematic for capitalists with eyes on the profits to be made beyond U.S. borders. Buchanan's brand of conservatism seemed mean-spirited and hostile to many supporters of gay rights and a woman's right to privacy and abortion. This may well have rendered [145]Buchanan too much of a political lightning rod in a period of expanding questions about capital's legitimacy. Perot's straight-talking populist style was intriguing to many, yet his faith in "a kind of hands-on economic governance" was problematic for many of the business elite, who continued to call for the slashing of social welfare programs. In the end the Clinton-Gore victory seemed, for some at least, to offer new hope.

Returning directly to the question of power during the 1990s, and how the relations between capital and labor were affected by the Clinton-Gore presidency; the relationship took some noticeable turns, with workers and civil society appearing to benefit initially, and business gaining enormous leverage by the end of the decade. The new administration began its tenure in the White House with what appeared to be a kind of "social reform period." Between 1991 and 1993, Clinton signed social legislation which his conservative Republican predecessors would certainly have rejected: the Family and Medical Leave Act (guaranteeing that workers could return to their jobs following childbirth or some other family medical emergency); the Brady Bill (regulating

handguns); and the "Motor-Voter" bill (making voter registration available via many state agencies, including those issuing drivers' licenses). Clinton also ended the ban on abortion counseling through family-planning clinics which had been established during the Reagan years. Furthermore, the Clinton-Gore presidency won new funding for a job corps for youth, although it also won greater funding form prisons and police.[146] Despite these promising initial steps, however; by 1993 the face of neoliberalism was clearly showing itself, as Clinton took three major steps to strengthen the hands of capital: backing away from social spending; supporting the North American Free Trade Association, and signing into legislation the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunities Reconciliation Act, in 1996.[147]

During his presidential campaign, Clinton had spoken frequently and forcefully of the need for renewed social spending on the nation's infrastructure, education, environmental technology, and health care. He had also called for a new corporate tax to encourage conservation of energy and training for jobs. After entering the White House, however; Clinton made a sharp turn back toward the political Right. Shortly after arriving in office, he abandoned the battle for large-scale spending for infrastructure. Two of Clinton's more conservative advisers, Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen and Robert Rubin of the National Economic Council, counseled against social spending and emphasized deficit reduction. Although Clinton shepherded a substantial tax increase on the wealthy, his administration essentially followed the advice of his conservative counselors.[148]

Workers of the United States, and internationally, were dealt a major blow by the establishment in 1993 of the North American Free Trade Association. Notwithstanding the vociferous opposition of representatives of organized labor and many Democratic liberals, Clinton acceded to the interests of capital and vigorously backed membership of the United States in this supranational body. This membership greatly facilitated the buying of low-cost goods from Mexico by U.S. and Canadian corporations, benefiting greatly from low wages and a relatively weak trade union environment. For U.S. workers, NAFTA greatly exacerbated the problems of capital flight—especially for workers of color[149]—as employers increasingly used the threat of closing factories and fleeing to Mexico to undermine worker demands for the right to unionization and higher pay.[150] NAFTA also provoked profound resistance from workers and peasants in Mexico, as the Zapatista rebellion erupted in the state of Chiapas on January 1, 1994, the day NAFTA went into effect.[151]

Perhaps the most crucial legislative battle fought by the Clinton Administration (and the most telling defeat for working people in the United States) was the failed effort to establish universal health care coverage. This question had become one of paramount importance by the 1990s, with more than 20% of all Americans under 65 having no insured access to a physician; with health care costs rising at twice the level of inflation; with the U.S. spending more of its total income than any other nation, 14%, on medical care. Moreover, the ruthlessness of employer efforts to cut their contributions to insurance costs had sparked more than 80% of all strikes in the United States during the 1980s. The U.S. system was wracked by crises, according to one hospital administrator

from Canada (where a "single-payer" system calls for the government to pay doctors and hospitals from tax revenues), because the system had "overwhelming duplication of bureaucracies working in dozens of insurance companies, no two of which have the same forms or even the same coverage."[152] Notwithstanding the widely-acclaimed merits of the Canadian system; Clinton and his wife, Hillary (who was in charge of the project) rejected the single-payer approach, although they did recognize the efficiency and popularity of such a system. Acceding to capital in the United States, the Clintons argued that any U.S. system of health care would have to be "built on the existing system of employer-paid benefits and private insurance."[153]

The stakes in this battle were extremely high. The Clinton plan, which seemed to reflect the spirit of the Rooseveltian reform of capitalism during the 1930s, would have established regulations for the nation's largest insurance companies through a system of "managed competition" maintained within a "global budget" that would be set by the federal government. Although a highly complex plan, the Clinton approach was indeed a most ambitious effort that, if enacted, would not only have guaranteed health insurance coverage to every American worker; but would also have "taken a large step toward reversing the growth of social inequality...and it would have provided employers with a powerful incentive to transform part-time jobs into forty-hour-a-week positions:"[154]

But American capitalism had moved too far from its welfare state moorings. The widespread and unmistakably answer offered by "low-wage, low-benefit" corporations and small insurance companies alike, was a resounding "No" to the Clinton plan. Capital and conservative politicians were deeply apprehensive of the plan, not only for the social

entitlement it would restore, but also for its costs to capital's profit margins. Although the Clinton plan was pronounced dead in the U.S. Congress in 1994, the Clinton effort did have a short-term salutary effect: The rise of health care costs was temporarily abated in the 1990s, as a direct result of the widespread fear of regulation among businesses. This temporary moderation of health care costs was also effected by the meteoric rise of health maintenance organizations (HMOs), which beginning to eclipse both hospitals and physicians as the main provider of medical care services. The abated costs of health care notwithstanding, however; health insurance remained linked to employment in the workplace, and by the end of the decade more than some 44 million people in America were without health care insurance coverage.[155]

The defeat of the Clinton health coverage plan seemed to some observers yet another stern rejection of the very notion of relying on the state to solve the most intractable of the society's problems. Yet the defeat also seemed to create a political vacuum, and this was moment was not lost on conservatives around the country. The political and economic fear generated by the Clinton effort to establish universal health coverage prompted conservatives to react with a vengeance unseen since the retrenchment initiatives of the Reagan 1980s. Led by an articulate history professor and ideologue from Georgia, Newt Gingrich, the Republicans sought to unify themselves for sweeping victories in the 1994 congressional campaigns. Republican deftly avoided such culturally divisive issues as abortion rights and prayer in schools; yet they renewed their retrenchment calls for drastic reductions in federal social spending, congressional term

limits, privatization of public education and Medicare, and a new round of tax cuts. Calling this campaign a "Contract with America," Gingrich and his fellow Republicans managed to capture control of both the Senate and the House, and also won widely in a number of state legislatures. Gingrich became the new Speaker of the House, signaling a most disturbing shift in Republican leadership from the Midwest to the Deep South of the nation.[156]

The new balance of political forces confirmed the temporary isolation and gravely weakened position of the working class, and progressive members of civil society. New vision and energies for struggle would have to be sought in places other than the White House. Clinton's remaining time in the presidency would be characterized by increasing accommodations to right-wing positions. Perhaps his most shameful and hurtful accommodation came in 1996, when Clinton signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunities Reconciliation Act (PRWORA), "ending welfare as we know it." The widely proclaimed intent of welfare reform was (1) to greatly reduce the number of women and children off of the welfare rolls; and (2) to move women toward economic independence and self-sufficiency. Yet, while the first goal was dramatically achieved by several years after the promulgation of the act; the second objective soon proved a ruse, as a number of scholars, and study after study revealed how the PRWORA was actually contributing to greater suffering of working-class women—especially women of color.

William Julius Wilson, whose widely-acclaimed book, *The Declining Significance of Race* (1978), served as a hammer with which old and new conservatives

led an antistatist assault on the U.S. welfare state, has linked the assault on poor women of color with post-Great Society reactions to problems in U.S. cities:

> I believe that the growing assault on welfare mothers is part of a larger reaction to the mounting problems in our nation's inner cities. When people think of welfare they think of young, unmarried black mothers having babies. This image persists even though almost as many whites as blacks were AFDC recipients in 1995, and there were also a good many Hispanics on the welfare rolls. Nevertheless, blacks were disproportionately represented. The rise in the number of black AFDC recipients was said to be symptomatic of such larger problems as the decline in family values and the dissolution of the family. The receipt of welfare, it is argued, contributes to or aggravates these problems. Ending welfare by forcing people to assume personal and family responsibilities is said to be one way to reverse the trend of rising inner-city social dislocations, including joblessness. The public dialogue with respect to these issues has been decidedly one-sided for years...It affects the way in which both conservatives and liberals describe and discuss the problems.[157]

Wilson's fervent criticism of the extremely one-sided attacks proved to be almost prophetic. Those most victimized by the neoliberal politics of the Clinton Administration were working women who had children, people on fixed incomes, and children living in poverty—those whom Wilson would identify in 1996 as "the truly disadvantaged." Widely-acclaimed African-American political theorist, Manning Marable, has carefully documented the tragic consequences of Clinton's war on welfare to the poor:

> According to Peter Edelman, Clinton's assistant secretary of Health and Human Services, the Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF), implemented in 1996 under Clinton, produced some fundamental changes for the poor and working poor, most of them for the worse. From 1995 to 1999, 2 million low-income families, who averaged annual incomes of approximately $7,500, lost 8% of their overall household income. The reason is simple: The additional earnings they received from working fell far short of the benefits they had to surrender, such as food stamps and welfare payments. Most of the former welfare recipients who have been able to obtain full-time employment are only earning about $7.00 per hour,

> barely enough to keep a single-parent household with two children above the poverty level. The workfare program in New York City, Edelman observed, "teaches no skill, provides no help in finding a job, pays no wage (and therefore allows no access to the earned-income tax credit), often denies necessary safety equipment and applies sanctions for the slightest infraction, real or alleged. By early 2002, about 60 percent of all poor children were receiving no help.[158]

Linda Burnham, Executive Director of the Women of Color Resource Center in California, has provided a scathing critique of the PRWORA and its results:

> There are many studies that document how much worse off women are due to welfare reform. Those who remain in the welfare system, those who leave for employment, and those who might have used Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) are in worse shape, with less support than the woefully inade-quate earlier system provided....
>
> The stated intent of welfare reform was at least twofold: to reduce the welfare rolls and to move women toward economic self-sufficiency. The first objective has been achieved: welfare rolls have declined dramatically since 1996....Despite the 'success' of welfare reform, research has repeatedly found that many women who move from welfare to work do not achieve economic independence. Instead, most find only low-paid, insecure jobs that do not lift their families above the poverty line. They end up worse off economically than they were on welfare: they work hard and remain poor. Others are pushed off welfare and find no employment. They have no reported source of income....[159]

Burnham underscores the fact that while welfare reform is "a nominally race-neutral policy," in reality it is pervaded by racial bias; both in terms of the politics in which the policy was promulgated and in terms of its impact on women of color. She also emphasizes what feminist scholars have been trying to get policy makers to acknowledge for almost four decades: the profound impact on women of color of multiple principles of social organization and oppression:

> Feminist theory has for some time recognized that the social and economic circumstances women of color must negotiate are shaped by the intersection of distinct axes of power—in this case primarily race, class, and gender. The relationships of subordination and privilege that define

> these axes generate multiple social dynamics that influence, shape, and transform each other, creating, for women of color, multiple vulnerabilities and intensified experiences of discrimination.[160]

The Clinton-Gore efforts, through the PRWORA, to further downsize "big government" and change welfare as Americans had come to know it has helped to exacerbate the challenges faced by working-class women, their families, and their communities. Given the profoundly anti-working-class and patriarchal character of the United States resulting from the retrenchment of Reaganism, the worsening conditions that working-class women and communities must confront have also helped to further impede the development of political organization and solidarity among workers generally, since struggles for personal survival all too often trump the perceived need for collective struggle. With the enactment of PRWORA, the biases against peoples of color and the privileges of whiteness have also been reinforced, thus exacerbating existing divisions that undermine the capacities of workers to unite across boundaries of race-ethnicity, as well as those of gender.[161]

Trade unionists, working-class activists, and their middle-class supporters took heart that such long-standing, and worsening, divisions amongst workers would be increasingly addressed in truly effective ways, when, in 1995, John Sweeney, Richard Trumpka, and Linda Chavez-Thompson were voted into the top offices of the AFL-CIO.[162] The new leadership team of the federation, and the euphoria by which they were welcomed in many corners of the United States, spoke volumes with respect to the intensifying dissatisfaction of millions of workers with their economic, political and social status in the country. Indeed, this was now a country in which not only the gains

of the 1960s had largely been rolled back; but the lives of many white Americans, working-class and middle-class, were now worse than when Ronald Reagan had so derisively and disingenuously critiqued the Democratic presidency of Jimmy Carter with his famous query, "Are you better off now than you were four years ago?"

While everyone was not equally sanguine about the prospects of the new leadership of the AFL-CIO, widespread feelings of anger were being expressed, and many were beginning to talk more openly of the need for change. By the late 1990s, activists and intellectuals were participating in conferences and workshops with increasing public focus on the need to address the problems caused by capital and its neoliberal agenda. More and more emphasis was gradually being placed on the importance of working-class resistance, trade union organizing, and movement building around human rights. Some working-class intellectuals, such as Bill Fletcher,[163] and Kim Moody,[164] were challenging and encouraging others to join struggles for better working conditions with struggles for greater democracy and power in workplaces and society. History had shown a new generation of activists that reforms can never be taken for granted. No, there could be no guarantees of quick victories. And yes, there would be sacrifices. But there would have to be struggle.

Black Power, Backlash, and Steel City Blues: Gary in the Seventies

Gary, Indiana is the largest of the three cities (Gary, Hammond, and East Chicago) which constitute the bulk of Lake County, in northwest Indiana. The northwest area is an industrialized region comprised of both Lake and Porter counties; and is adjacent to Lake Michigan, the second largest of the Great Lakes and an invaluable

resource for manufacturing and commerce. Until recently, the economic life of this area (often called the Calumet Region) has been characterized by good-paying unionized jobs in steel and related primary metals industries. Historically, the steel mills have dominated the economies of the two counties, and mill jobs have helped to establish wages above the average per capita income. Such economic opportunity has continually drawn workers to the region in search of a better life. Yet migrating workers have found the price of progress extremely dear, as the region has been shaped by a virulent history of class, race, ethnic, and gender politics and segregated communities. Since the early twentieth century, immigrants from various parts of Europe, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and African-Americans have been incorporated into the region and positioned in disparate conditions—socially and politically—to labor in its huge mills and plants. The compositions of area cities reflect this history of division and inequality. In 1995, Gary was about 81% African-American, with a population of about 120,000. Hammond, about 85% white, accounted for approximately 80,000 residents; and East Chicago, with about 48% Latinas/os, had about 40,000. In addition to its history as a "city of steel," Gary has had a history of corruption that is legendary. For many years the Democratic Party has controlled Lake County, developing a vast machine whose excesses have periodically come under the scrutiny of federal grand juries, and resulted in numerous indictments and convictions of municipal figures.[165]

In 1967, after more than fifty years of race, class, and gender domination, African-Americans had joined with white and Latina/o citizens of Gary and built an impressive grassroots electoral campaign that swept Richard Gordon Hatcher into office

as Gary's first black mayor. Hatcher and his euphoric supporters had boldly embraced the slogan, "City on the Move," and despite extraordinary obstacles (e.g., "a bankrupt treasury, an eroding local tax base, state-imposed limitations to home rule, and a wary, if not hostile, white business community"), looked forward to achieving long-awaited political, economic, and social improvements.[166]

Many still believed Gary to be a "City on the Move" during the late 1970s.[167] Yet the degree to which Gary was viewed in this light was a matter of considerable conten- tion, depending upon the representatives of particular racial and political groupings to whom one posed the question. By the early seventies in Gary, aptly dubbed a crucial "urban laboratory" by Mayor Hatcher, its people were battered by fierce local, regional, and national winds of change. In 1967 during the heady days of Black Power, when Richard Hatcher had become Gary's first black mayor[168]; rejoicing black, brown and white residents[169] had danced in the streets. Yet despite impressive political, economic, and social advances, with subsequent electoral victories; Hatcher and his mainly black[170] working-class constituents had faced repeated waves of backlash[171] led by influential whites determined to protect their places in Gary's pecking order[172] of racial-ethnic domination and privilege.[173] Neither his unparalleled successes[174] in bringing federal funding to Gary, nor his laudable efforts to end corruption could prevent the growth of white hostility and black enmity.[175] For many Gary residents, the 1970s would be remembered as a foreboding decade; one in which the city was repeatedly buffeted by converging winds that signaled even more powerful storms on the way.

In 1971, the gradual erosion of federal support for urban programs that would soon characterize the Nixon presidency had already helped to make the question of Gary's downtown revitalization a more openly and hotly debated issue. The rift which had opened up during the 1960s between white businessmen and Hatcher was widening[176] into a gulf. Amidst the pervasive and insidious "benign neglect"[177] advocated by Nixon's "liberal" advisor, Daniel Moynihan; Hatcher and hopeful constituents still looked forward to the "genesis of a new Gary," while detractors promoted white flight and white disinvestment. As the management of US Steel's Gary Works was laying off many[178] of its steelworkers—a cataclysmic process[179] resulting in a temporary loss of employment for an estimated 43% of Gary's work force—other downtown businessmen were expressing their intentions to erect two giant shopping malls fifteen miles south of Gary, in Merrillville.[180] By 1972, political polarization around race had intensified. Many African-Americans (though certainly not all) were feeling empowered by the historic Black Political Convention held in the city, while many whites, and apparently some Latinas/os, had seen the convention as another indication of the ill-fated direction in which Gary seemed headed.[181] Narratives spun within the local white-controlled media denigrated black political strivings and fueled regional attitudes and behaviors[182] deeply rooted in decades of whiteness. The rancorous decline continued until by 1978, three major department stores and more than one hundred downtown retail businesses had either closed or left for better fortunes in the Merrillville malls. While this hemorrhaging had continued, unemployment among workers had risen, as mill facilities had become antiquated, foreign imports had

increased, and owners were seeking ways to bolster their bottom lines. As the 1980s arrived, Gary had lost an unimaginable 30,000 steel jobs.

Gary in the 1980s and 1990s

Caught in the vortex of this regional whirlwind, Gary residents had also suffered the gale force winds of national politics, as the main urban program of the Nixon administration, revenue sharing, began to curtail the flow of federal funds upon which Gary's economic, political, and social fortunes had come to depend. Very soon, with Nixon's shift to the posture of "benign neglect," key programs in the city, including projected housing projects, had been brought to a halt. Despite the Carter administration's apparent good will,[183] neither Hatcher nor his constituents could escape the structural crises of U.S. urban centers which were partially responsible for policy proposals that comprised the agenda of restructuring.[184] Moreover, given the popular mandate that had initially swept Hatcher into the mayor's office, and Hatcher's strong commitment to ending racism and corruption; there was little that his administration would do to assuage local and regional interests that sought a return to the "normalcy" of white political control.[185] Here it is important to underscore the fact that many accounts of restructuring often underestimate its racializing objectives. Yet the uniquely racial dimensions of Gary corporate capitalist responses to Black Power (especially capital flight from Gary to Merrillville) underscore the necessity for more complex analysis. Given the racial acrimony since the rise of Black Power and Richard Hatcher, the insights of Gregory D. Squire can be aptly applied to Gary: "When

corporations seek out greener pastures they tend to seek out whiter ones as well, in part because of the presumption of a relatively greater attraction to unions on the part of blacks, in part to avoid equal opportunity requirements by avoiding areas where minorities are in the picture, and in part due to the perpetuation of traditional stereotypes and old-fashioned prejudice."[186]

The continuing retrenchment by area corporations truly made the 1980s a devastating period for Gary workers—especially African-Americans, for whom industrial and union jobs had served as pathways by which succeeding generations had climbed toward the wages and benefits reflecting "middle-class" stability. In the years between 1979 and 1982 steel mill employment in Gary plummeted from 30, 000 to 10,000; and by 1988 there were 6,000 workers in steel. What is most astonishing, and telling, about this fact is that in 1988 the mills were making more steel than ever before—in more automated plants. Compounding the economic attrition in steel, jobs in related industries in Gary fell by about 5,000 between 1982 and 1988; and by March 1988, unemployment was 18% in Gary.[187] Included in this dismal decline were closings at long-established northwest corporations that had employed many workers from the Calumet Region. Corporations such as Blaw-Knox Steel(1985); Combustion Engineering (1986); Stratojac (1986); the LTV Bar Mill (1988); and LaSalle steel (1990) had served as important employers for many Gary workers, and their closings gravely limited the number of good-paying, unionized jobs to which workers could resort.[188]

Such a dismal picture helps to explain the dwindling employment prospects not only for black men, but even more for black women,[189] in a city like Gary. Recent

scholarship has confirmed that during the period of the 1980s and 1990s, economic decline in city centers, the loss of industrialized jobs, declining union density, and declining value of the minimum wage all furthered the erosion of the relative earnings of African-American with no more than a high school education, especially in the Midwest.[190]

It is difficult to adequately approximate the real human consequences of the destructive impact of Reaganism on Gary. "Federal funds in 1979 represented about 36 percent of Gary's total budget. By 1983 those funds had been cut by 50%. By 1987 they had been cut by 75%."[191] Federal programs—such as CEP, CETA, PEP, Emergency Referral, and Job Training—which had helped to bring funding and much-needed training to the city's eager population, were suddenly dried up.[192] The loss of job training resources was particularly devastating for African-American working-class women, since two of the main priorities of Hatcher's administrations—provision of affordable and quality housing as well as training for the city's least employable citizens—had been established with them in mind.[193] What seemed particularly unsettling about the cutting of funds (representing about 36% of Gary's budget in 1979) was that Reagan actually redirected monies that had been earmarked for cities toward other ends, such as defense and tax cuts—"at the expense of cities and poor people."[194] The coming of Reaganism also meant that the "Negotiated Investment Strategy" which had been worked out between the Carter Administration and the Hatcher officials in Gary, was no longer in effect. This meant a loss of $250 million in public and private investment for the city.[195]

Against the backdrop of drastic cuts in federal assistance, the Hatcher administration tried to insure coverage of the programs and their personnel with other monies from the city budget. Yet this honorable attempt soon had to be abandoned, since there simply was not enough money to go around.[196] The situation was gravely exacerbated by the continuing flight of major enterprises, such as the Gainer Bank, from the downtown area. The flight of such major financial institutions as Gainer Bank, Bank of Indiana, and First Federal eventually led to the flight of other businesses, which needed viable and willing economic partners to maintain the life of local and regional commerce. Former Mayor Hatcher, always known for his plain speaking, characterized the situation in this way: "It is true that the Bank of Indiana moved first to the Twin Towers [located in Merrillville, just south of Gary], but the Bank of Indiana was not the economic force that Gainer was. When Gainer moved, that was the end for a lot of the retail stores; Gainer was their lifeblood...So we lost most of downtown Gary when Gainer moved...."[197]

The intensification of local contradictions was also reflected in the extremely uncooperative stance of U.S. Steel vis-à-vis development plans for the city. Gary planners in the Hatcher Administration had reasoned that if U.S. Steel could be influenced to transfer their management operations from the decaying buildings at the steel mill to downtown, the move would provide an incentive for other businesses to center their operations in the downtown area. Such moves would help to establish a vibrant financial and commercial district in the city's center. Although U.S. Steel had

initially expressed interest, even purchasing and clearing a three-acre plot at the key intersection of Fifth and Broadway; the plan had to be abandoned when U.S. Steel demanded a $10,000,000 tax break in addition to a 100% land write-off before agreeing to build their office tower. As a result, the city refused and U.S. Steel withdrew its offer.[198] U.S. Steel not only refused to cooperate in matters of city development. Throughout its tenure as one of the city's largest employers, U.S. Steel had been recalcitrant regarding the payment of its share of city taxes.[199] This recalcitrance had contributed considerably to the problems Gary experienced with a dwindling tax base. By 1983, Gary's tax base had been so eroded that the city could not pay its utility bill. Drastic cuts became necessary, and 384 city workers were laid off.[200]

By the late 1980s the restructuring initiatives, including a round of layoffs in 1986 that "crippled" the local economy, were clearly being achieved. Long-standing animosities were being played out in the continuing saga of racialized and corporate capitalist politics. Despite valiant efforts made by Hatcher to bring economic development to Gary, it was becoming clear to many that as long as Richard Hatcher was Mayor, the fortunes of Gary's people would be doomed, if whites had anything to do with it. Commenting in 1985 on the failed attempt to win the cooperation of Britt Airlines in developing the Gary Airport, State Senator Carolyn Mosby noted that "There have been few instances in Gary's recent history of the kind of cooperative effort which emerged as Gary and Northwest Indiana prepared for commuter airline service from the Gary Regional Airport. We know, of course, that there were those businesses and leaders who...chose to criticize and predict failure...It has been called to my attention that a Britt

spokesperson gave as one factor in their decision to terminate the fact that several people had written them...about Gary's negative image."[201]

The economic and political sabotage of Gary would continue into the 1990s. Once Richard Hatcher was no longer Mayor of Gary (he was defeated in 1987 by Thomas V. Barnes), however; there seemed to be no single figure around whom the citizens could rally, as they had rallied around Hatcher during the 1960s. Perhaps it had been true, that to many in the late 1980s that, as James Lane has written, "Hatcher's style had become a political liability. After twenty years, the electorate was ready for a new approach, for a second-generation black mayor less confrontational and more conciliatory to the outside power structure."[202] Yet the continued underdevelopment of Gary belied the simplicity of such logic. The election to city hall of politicians widely acknowledged as more accommodating has not ended the travails of Gary's people. Indeed, it seems more than reasonable to assume that the reasons for Gary's underdevelopment have always been more complex than the individual strengths and limitations of a single public figure.

Given the foregoing discussion, several points warrant consideration. First, by the 1980s the economic retrenchment and political maneuverings on both a national and local scale were resulting in lower wages, lower and fewer benefits, higher unemployment, worsening work conditions, and greatly diminished bargaining power for workers[203] in the Calumet Region, and especially in Gary. A crisis existed nationally, yet this crisis was exerting particularly painful effects in the Midwest, and those effects were especially onerous for women of color.[204] This situation worsened considerably during the next two

decades, creating an employment context in which the drastic decline in primary sector jobs and the rise of secondary and informal sector jobs left workers with fewer occupational options and fewer job protections. Second, as the economic and political crisis developed, with virtually all the jobs created in the 1980s emerging in the service sector,[205] black women and Latinas were particularly drawn into health care, child care, and hospitality jobs—so-called "female" jobs in which these women experienced anew the boundaries of race- and sex-segregation, and thus continued to earn less than their "coethnic men."[206] Third, changes in health care since the 1960s had led to increasing efforts to organize the delivery of healthcare along industrial lines. Since the introduction of Medicare and Medicaid in July 1965, the United States had witnessed an astounding expansion and transformation of the health care industry. Yet the expansion of access, profits, and workforces had also led to workplace changes in which many hospital workers felt that their work of caring was becoming more factory-like. Industry observers and unionists were documenting that the separation of conception and direction from execution of tasks was resulting in an intensification of supervision, substitution of less-skilled for more skilled labor, and increasing use of technology to diminish the use of expensive labor power.[207] As greater emphasis was being put on structural changes to cut costs and making health care workplaces more efficient and effective; employer control loomed larger as a goal, and the enhancement of "flexibility" made union busting essential. Given the well-documented racism and sexism of the health care industry; by the 1980s industry changes and the overall crisis of restructuring and retrenchment had

created a precarious situation for black women who had entered, or would be entering, healthcare workplaces in Gary, Indiana. [208]

NOTES

CHAPTER III

1. Cathy Cohen, Kathleen B. Jones, and Joan C. Tronto, "Introduction: Women Transforming U.S. Politics: Sites of Power/Resistance," in *Women Transforming Politics: An Alternative Reader*, 1-12. See also Heather Ann Thompson, *Whose Detroit? Politics, Labor, and Race in a Modern American City* especially her "Introduction: Reassessing the Fate of Postwar Cities, Politics, and Labor," 1-8. It seems quite apparent that progressive scholars and activists have yet to adequately understand, explain, and address the rightward political descent of the country during the past thirty years; witness the continuing inability of intellectuals and activists to effectively develop a politics and political movements to intervene on a mass scale.

2. Examples of some of the most instructive and challenging theoretical and analytical works are Phyllis Wallace 1980, William Harris 1982, Manning Marable 1983, Margaret Simms and Julianne Malveaux 1986, Thomas D. Boston 1988, Kim Moody 1988, Teresa Amott 1993, Barbara Omolade 1994, Bette J. Dickerson 1995, Robin D.G. Kelley 1996, Thomas J. Sugrue 1996, Adolph Reed 2000, and Patricia Hill Collins 2000.
[3] Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 1990. See also Rose Brewer, "Theorizing Race, Class and Gender: The New Scholarship of Black Feminist Intellectuals and Black Women's Labor," in *Theorizing Black Feminisms: The Visionary Pragmatism of Black Women*, (Eds.) Stanlie M. James and Abena P.A. Busia, 1993, 13-30.

4. Rose Brewer, "Race, Class, Gender and US State Welfare Policy: The Nexus of Inequality for African-American Families," in *Color, Class, and Country: Experiences of Gender*, eds. Gay Young and Bette J. Dickerson, 1994, 115-127. See also Stephen D. Krasner, Approaches to the State: Alternative Conceptions and Historical Dynamics," *Comparative Politics 16*(2), January 1984, 223-246.

5. Ann Bookman and Sandra Morgen, *Women and the Politics of Empowerment*, 1988, Political theorist Jane Flax has also written quite persuasively regarding this problem in *The American Dream in Black and White: The Clarence Thomas Hearings*, especially her introduction.

6. Nancy C. M. Hartsock, *Money, Sex, and Power.*

7. Aurora Levins Morales, *Medicine Stories: History, Culture and the Politics of Integrity*, 1998, especially 21-125. See also the extremely insightful volume by Sharon Kurtz, *Workplace Justice: Organizing Multi-Identity Movements*, 2002.

8. Deborah K. King makes reference to this tendency in U.S. thought, by which theorists and activists view a single form of discrimination or oppression as if it is

primary and the source of any and all others. Viewed somewhat differently, some scholars have referred to the tendency as "reductionism." See "Multiple Oppressions, Multiple Jeopardies: The Ground for Black Feminist Thought," in *Black Women in America: Social Sciences Perspectives*, Micheline Malson, Elisabeth Mudimbe-Boyi, Jean F. O'Barr, and Mary Wyer, 1990.

9. Adolph Reed raises a number of critical issues in this regard in his incisive essay, "Why Is There No Black Political Movement," in his *Class Notes: Posing As Politics and Other Thoughts on the American Scene*, 2000.

10. The concept of *capital*, when used to refer to the dominant class and class interests of a modern capitalist society, is contentious, and for some scholars, off-putting. My use of the term in this paper is intended as a means of clearly identifying political and economic actors, as well as a specific kind of social force that has a particular meaning that is specific to a capitalist society. See Samir Amin and Shane Mage, *Spectres of Capitalism: A Critique of Current Intellectual Fashions*, 1998; Samir Amin, *Capitalism in the Age of Globalization*, 1997; and Alan Wolfe, *The Limits of Legitimacy: Political Contradictions of Contemporary Capitalism*, 1980.

11. As a young adult engaged in various political activities during the 1960s, the writer often encountered this term as representative of the overall objectives of the Civil Rights Movement.

12. As this chapter's discussion will attempt to show, the deepening and broadening sense of the need for control during the 1970s should not be interpreted as a sentiment confined to white elites in the United States. In fact, it is in the varying expressions of reaction, anger, dislocation, disorientation, anxiety, and resentment among strata of U.S. whites that we can discern some of the most dangerously centrifugal tensions of class (and gender) for which certain elites provided *racial* "explanations." One of the most helpful discussions of this "project" can be found in Chapter 7, "Race and Reaction," in *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s, Second Edition*, Michael Omi and Howard Winant, 1994, 113-136. As will also become clear, the increasing pursuit of control was an international phenomenon; not merely one confined to the United States.

13. Consider the impressive advances inspired by the collective efforts of U.S. women . as incisively catalogued by Alice Echols, in her 1989 volume, *Daring to Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1967-1975*, 3-21.

14. As one example of such reckonings with reality, see Manning Marable's *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black American, 1945-1990, Second Edition*, 132-133, in which Dr. Vincent Harding provides poignant and instructive comments on the collapse of the dynamism that had generated the Gary Political nvention of 1973 during a crucial stage of the Black Power Movement. Also see Marable's

discussion of other set-backs in the African-American, Native American, and Latina struggles; revealing some of the most notable problems in the development of critical consciousness and inclusive politics within these movements.

15. Howard Zinn, 2003/1980, and Marable & Mullings, 2003, offer lucid discussions of the long-denied, often-forestalled, yet ultimately irrepressible and democratizing struggles of African-American people in the U.S. See *A People's History of the United States*, and *Let Nobody Turn Us Around.* See also Michael Goldfield (1997), *The Color of Politics: Race and the Mainsprings of American Politics*,

16. Among the most trenchant of critiques of the recurring problems of elitism and elitist leadership in African-American social movements has been the analysis offered by Joy James. James's work is particularly helpful in that she revisits W.E.B. DuBois's conception of "the talented tenth," and shows how DuBois rejected and revised his earliest conception in 1953. See *Transcending the Talented Tenth: Black Leaders and American Intellectuals,* 1997, especially Chapter One, "The Talented Tenth Recalled," 15-33. See also Kevin K. Gaines, *Uplifting the Race,* 1995 and Thomas D. Boston, *Race, Class and Conservatism,* 1988.

17. Omi and Winant provide a lucid and compelling analysis of hegemony as political, economic, cultural and ideological rule that incorporates (and rearticulates) elements of demands raised by political movements in opposition to the old status quo. See pages 65-66 of their volume.

18. Robert Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America,* 1965. See also *The Politics of Turmoil: Poverty, Race, and the Urban Crisis*, Richard A. Cloward and Frances Fox Piven, 1972. Cloward and Piven provide a painstaking analysis of factors seldom considered in the truncation of systemic reform.

19. By the beginning of the seventies, the economic consequences of the war alone were plunging the U.S. economy into unimaginable spasms of inflation. These inflationary conditions eventually contributed to developments that would result in the country's first balance-of-payments deficit of the 20th century. The complex of consequent circumstances would eventually lead to a temporary loss for the U.S. of its economic dominance in the world. This gravely compounded the human, military, and political losses caused by the war. See *Who Built America? Working People and the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture, and Society, Vol. II*, American Social History Project, 2000, especially pages 683-739.

20. Ibid., 683-684.

21. Michel Beaud, *A History of Capitalism, 1500-1980*, 1983, 185-194.

22. Teresa Amott, *Caught in the Crisis: Women and the U.S. Economy Today*, 1993, 26.

23. Numerous scholars have provided ample evidence that reveals that the economic challenges which began to predominate within the United States were also reflections of continuing opposition mounted by "Third World" nations and peoples against the imperialism of the United States and its Western European counterparts. For thoughtful, in-depth, analyses revealing the profound links between the dominations exercised by European and Euro-American whites, and the corresponding struggles of various peoples of color, see, for example, Howard Winant, *The World Is a Ghetto: Race and Democracy Since World War II,* 2001; Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States: 1492 to the Present,* 2003/1980; Aurora Levins Morales, *History, Culture and the Politics of Integrity,* 1998; K.T. Fann and Donald C. Hodges, eds., *Readings in U.S. Imperialism,* 1971; Ronald Segal, *The Race War,* 1966; Chinweizu, *The West and the Rest of Us,* 1975; James Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries,* 1985; and Gerald Horne, *W.E.B. DuBois and the Afro-American Response to the Cold War, 1944-1963,* 1986.

24. *Who Built America?* Vol. II, 685.

25. *Hartsock, Money, Sex, and Power.* See also Michael Parenti, *Democracy for the Few.*

26. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Where Do We Go from Here?,* 1967. See also Stephen Steinberg, *Turning Back: The Retreat from Racial Justice in American Thought and Policy,* 1995.

27. Thomas Byrne Edsall and Mary D. Edsall, *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics,* 1992. See also Thomas J. Sugrue's riveting and copiously researched account of rising disenchantment and alienation in Detroit, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit,* 1996.

28. Bob Blauner, *Still the Big News: Racial Oppression in America,* 2001. Blauner's work on race and racism in the United States has stood for decades as some of the most illuminating—and some of the most vilified and dismissed within academia. His discussions of white advantage and alienation from Black empowerment still offer profound insights to younger scholars and activists, especially chapters one through three, pages 3-43. In raising the fundamental issue of white privilege, however; one must be careful to remember that in many places across the United States, Whites were often initially open and supportive of racial reforms. Gary, Indiana and Cleveland, Ohio were sites of such inter-racial efforts, for example, during the first mayoral campaigns of Richard Hatcher and Carl B. Stokes. This insight was clearly brought home to me during interviews with former Gary mayor, Richard Hatcher; and former SNCC organizer and Cleveland community activist, Alex Weathers, now-deceased.

29. Stephen Steinberg, *Turning Back: The Retreat from Racial Justice in American Thought and Policy,* 1995, 97-99.

30. For a chilling and instructive examination of state repression during the 1960s and 1970s, see Ward Churchill and Jim Vander Wall, *Agents of Repression: The FBI's Secret Wars Against the Black Panther Party and the American Indian Movement,* 2002/1988.

31. *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics,* 1992, 83-84. The Edsalls provide a most illuminating assessment of the ability of Nixon and his administration to gain three crucial political advantages: (1) "...to separate himself...from the inexorable momentum of evolving civil rights law in the area of school integration, publicly and credibly disassociating himself from the wrenching process of desegregation that he was in fact powerless to stop;" (2) "...to secure a grip not only on the South for the 1972 election, but also on the growing number of white northerners, many of them urban Democrats, who were beginning to feel they were bearing the brunt of school and job integration;" and (3) "...to make a case to voters disturbed by the liberal civil rights policies...was to elect conservative Republicans to the presidency...." Nixon clearly succeeded in presenting himself as a racial conservative by attacking the Voting Rights Act:

> The bid...to eliminate provisions in the act requiring officials in the South to obtain 'preclearance' from the Justice Department for local election law changes, although ultimately unsuccessful, served to demonstrate to the concerned electorate that a Democratic Congress, rather than the Nixon administration, was behind the singling out of the South as the target of the most stringent enforcement provisions. (p. 83).

32. Steinberg, 98-100. Parenthetically, it is worth noting that careful observers of contemporary U.S. political history should closely consider the varying reasons why so many white members of the electorate were attracted to Nixon. Many of these white Americans were neither identical in their experiences of social location; spanning divides of class, as well as status. Nor were all white Americans who eventually came to support Nixon advocating overt racialism, though all were profoundly shaped by the deeply embedded whiteness of U.S. history and culture. See Blauner's discussion, 2001, in his chapters one, "Almost s Race War: The Climate of the Late 1960s," 3-12; and chapter three, "White Privilege: The Key to Racial Oppression," 24-43.

33. Thomas Byrne Edsall and Mary D. Edsall, *Chain Reaction*, 103. I am very appreciative to my friend and colleague Bill Fletcher, Jr. for underscoring this insight during a conversation on incisive ways of engaging U.S. workers to think more critically about the emergence of new right, neoconservative, and neoliberal politics—especially in the wake of the break-up of the AFL-CIO in July 2005.

The scholarly insights offered by the Edsalls resonate well with the issues addressed by political scientist Jennifer L. Hochschild in her essay, "What I is the American Dream," in *Voices of Dissent: Critical Readings in American Politics, Fifth Edition*, (Eds.) William F. Grover and Joseph G. Peschek, 2004, 48-61.

34. In this discussion, I use the terms *race* and *race-ethnicity*, as well as *racial* and *racial-ethnic* interchangeably, grounding references in such theoretical insights as those offered by Teresa Amott and Julie Matthaei: "We use the term 'race-ethnicity'...to grasp the contradictory nature of racial theories and practices, in particular the fact that those people seen as belonging to a particular 'race' often lack a shared set of distinct physical characteristics, but rather share a common ethnicity or culture." See Amott and Matthaei, 1996, (Revised Edition), *Race, Gender, and Work: A Multicultural Economic History of Women in the United States*, especially, 17-28.

35. See Alice Echols's, *Daring To Be Bad: Radical Feminism in America, 1965-1974.*

36. *Who Built America?*, 698-707.

37. Alice Echols, *Daring To Be Bad*, 3-22.

38. The concepts of *oppression* and *oppressed social groups* are matters of continuous contention in the United States. Calls for an illusory scholarly objectivity too often reflect an aversion to the use of concepts that explicitly identify and/or oppose systemic domination and its real-world causes. The writer's use of these concepts is grounded in a scholarly commitment to the ideal that in order to improve the social world, we must be able to clearly identify its relations of power. The writer's use of these terms is also grounded in the lived experiences of social groups identified, and with which I self-identify. Lastly, the use of such terms as oppression and oppressed groups is grounded in the scholarship of radical scholars whose works inform my own. See Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference,* 1990.

39. W.E.B. DuBois sought to illuminate the insidious connections between white planters and white yeomen and workers during the antebellum stages of U.S. slavery in his magisterial black Reconstruction. in America, 1860-1880. More recently, a new generation of white scholars has undertaken the challenge of helping white workers unhinge themselves from their capitalist masters. See, for example, David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness,* 1987, Herbert Hill and James E. Jones, Jr., eds., *Race in America: The Struggle for Equality,* 1993, Ruth Frankenberg, *White Women, Race Matters: The Social Construction of Whiteness,* 1994; Michael K. Brown et. al., eds., *Whitewashing Race: The Myth of a Color-Blind Society,* 2003; and R. Jeffrey Lustig, "The Tangled Knot of Race and Class," in *What's Class Got To Do with It? American Society in the Twenty-First Century,* 2004.

40. Manning Marable and Leith Mullings, *Let Nobody Turn Us Around.* Also see Marable's *The Great Well of Democracy,* 2002. See also the intriguing discussion of the powerful impact of black protests in expanding the U.S. social compact to many who had previously been excluded from its benefits, in *The Breaking of the American Social Compact*, Frances fox Piven and Richard A. Cloward, 1997, 3-14.

41. *Chain Reaction*, 103-104.

42 Omi and Winant, 114-115.

43. Rhonda M. Williams, "Getting Paid: Black Women Economists Reflect on Women and Work," in *Sister Circle: Black Women and Work,* 2002, eds. Sharon Harley and the Black Women and Work Collective, with Foreword by Nellie Y. McKay, 90.

44. Omi and Winant, 115.

45. *Racial Formation in the United States*, 114-115.

46. *Daring To Be Bad*, especially the Foreword by Ellen D. Willis, pp. vii-viii.

47. *Who Built America? II*, 698-699.

48. *Racial Formation in the United States*, 115. See also Alan Wolfe's, *The Limits of Legitimacy: Political Contradictions of Contemporary Capitalism,* 1977.

49. Ibid., 115.

50. Samuel F. Yette's well-researched and chilling account of the 1960s "War on Poverty" as "The Great Society Pacification Programs" raises a number of critical questions regarding the multiple and divergent aims embodied in the "war." Yette's account, which cost him considerably as a well-respected black journalist, also raises questions regarding the trajectory of the U.S. during the 1970s. See *The Choice: The Issue of Black Survival in America,* 1971. See also Marable's chapter six, "Black Rebellion: Zenith and Decline, 1970-1976," in his *Race, Reform, and Rebellion.*

51. Omi and Winant, 116.

52. Nixon's noted support for certain welfare state interventions would seem to disqualify him as a new rightist for scholars such as Michael Omi and Howard Winant. See also the insights offered by scholars referenced in note #21. In fact, for a number of conservatives of various persuasions, Nixon represented a kind of conservative centrism: astutely, perhaps at times, warily, pitching his arguments with language less volatile than those of a segregationist true-believer like Wallace; but not yet representative of

arguments that would become sharper and more sophisticatedly formed by the Reagan eighties.

53. Steinberg, 102-103. Steinberg notes, "Thus the record of the Nixon Administration with respect to civil rights does not lend itself to a simple, categorical verdict. As Graham has noted:

> ...in the long view of continuity in civil rights policy the real Richard Nixon was not only the demagogue of busing and the hypocrite of quotas during the warm months of 1972. He was also the expedient and successful defender of the Philadelphia Plan, the careful but quiet enforcer of school desegregation in the South, the architect of judicial empowerment for the EEOC.

See Hugh Davis Graham, The Civil Rights Era: Origin and Development of National Policy, 1970-1972, 447.

54. In his Turning Back: The Retreat from Racial Justice in American Thought and Policy, scholar Stephen Steinberg has pointed to Nixon as one of the most significant politicians who called "the death knell" to that "spirit of confrontation" that, for a precious few moments in the nation's history, had challenged and encouraged the body politic to acknowledge its racial divisions and to initiate a process of racial reconstruction, 97-103. The extremely volatile and complicated matter of busing, as well as Nixon's early efforts to undermine government efforts to accomplish it, had a particularly powerful resonance for many within the white working class. "Busing was by no means the only issue to alter the structure of white voting behavior, but it was busing that drove home with mot clarity the realization that the new liberal agenda would demand some of the largest changes in habit and custom from the working-class residents of low and moderate-income enclaves within the big cities—enclaves with often heavily Irish, Polish, Italian, or Slavic populations: Los Angeles, South Boston, Dayton, Denver, New York's Canarsie, and Cleveland's west side. Busing provided Nixon with an anvil on which to forge a link for the receptive voter between an intrusive federal government, liberalism, and the national Democratic party." Thomas Byrne Edsall and Mary D. Edsall, *Chain Reaction*, 87-88.

55. Steinberg, 99.

56. Manning Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945-1990*, 94-99.

57. Steinberg notes that Nixon strengthened the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's staff from 359 in 1968 to 1, 640 in 1972, and from $13.2 million to $29.5 million during the same years. Moreover, "the government's principal enforcement mechanism against discrimination is the contract compliance check, and Nixon's budget

for fiscal year 1973 provided for a doubling of ...checks from 22,500 in 1971 to 52,000 in 1973," 101.

58. Steinberg, *Turning Back*, 101-102. Steinberg writes quite illuminatingly about the way in which Nixon's initiatives, somewhat paradoxically, were instrumental in establishing the policies and procedures we have come to know as affirmative action:

> Indeed, despite his overt appeal to the white backlash and the other retrograde policies alluded to..., Nixon simultaneously pursued policies that laid the foundation for affirmative action policy. This was done less as a matter of preconceived design than as a byproduct of a series of administrative decisions and compromises that, in their net effect, formed the basis for affirmative action as we know it.
>
> The question of how to assess the politics and political legacy of Richard Nixon remains a matter for painstaking analysis and thoughtful debate. In a relatively recent volume, *Who Built America? Working People and the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture, and Society, Volume Two, 1877 to the Present*, scholars have offered a rather positive view of Nixon:
>
> Of the three presidents who sought to revive the fortunes of American capitalism during the 1970s, Republican Richard Nixon was actually the most 'liberal.' During his administration Congress passed, and the President signed, laws indexing Social Security benefits to inflation, extending unemployment benefits, and regulating oil and gas prices during the first energy crunch. Declaring himself a 'Keynesian,' Nixon also used government power to directly attack both inflation and the growing trade imbalance. (p. 691)

59. While the astuteness and craftiness of Nixon and his aides certainly warranted his eventual, and unflattering, moniker of "Tricky Dick," the evolution of new right political themes and tactics contributed considerably to the political positions pursued by Nixon, especially in the earlier stages of his tenure as President. As the Edsalls have observed:

> During the first two years of his administration, Nixon's attempts to retard the pace of southern desegregation, to weaken the Voting Rights Act, to appoint racial conservatives to the Supreme Court, and to ally himself with the fractious tactics of his vice president functioned to overshadow far less visible early administration efforts in support of black economic advancement. These efforts were grounded, in Nixon's view, in legitimate, market-oriented mechanisms. In 1969, opposition to affirmative action and minority contracting setasides had not yet become

> integral—as they soon would—to the political strategy of the Republican party; on the contrary, the GOP still saw business-centered programs as the engine for pulling blacks into the private-sector mainstream. To that end, Nixon lent his support to the development of a government-led 'black apitalism,' actively promoting...racially preferential programs that would before long become controversial.... (p. 85-86).

60. William H. Harris, *The Harder We Run: Black Workers Since the Civil War,* 1982, 178. One profound example of this stagnation (to which we shall return at greater length later) was the impact upon African-American workers of capital flight as it developed during the 1970s. Commenting on the importance of the work of economist Barbara A. P. Jones, Rhonda M. Williams states the following:

> Jones repeatedly describes and emphasizes black women's ties to black men and children...Jones accords great weight to what economists sometimes define as 'capital flight,' which means that businesses change the location of their operations in pursuit of lower costs and higher profits. Specifically, Jones documents the way many U.S. manufacturers closed their plants in the United States. In so doing, they eliminated hundreds of thousands of good-paying blue-collar jobs in metropolitan centers of the West and Midwest and sent them to the southern United States (where unions were less powerful) and overseas (where unions were fewer in number and weaker). Jones argues that this decline in working-class jobs injured both black men and women. Jones was right on target—my research shows that black unemployment in manufacturing declined 16.7% in the 1980s, much less than the overall manufacturing employment decline of 7.1%. See 'Getting Paid: Black Women Economists Reflect on Women and Work,' in *Sister Circle: Black Women and Work*, eds. Sharon Harley and *The Black Women and Work Collective,* 2002.

61. Not everyone has accepted the notion of blacks as an underclass. African-American scholars Mack Jones, Charles P. Henry, and Adolph Reed have raised numerous criticisms of the concept and its incessant application to African-Americans. See Jones's "The Black Underclass as Systemic Phenomenon" and Henry's "Understanding the Underclass: The Role of Culture and Economic Progress," in *Race, Politics, and Economic Development: Community Perspectives*, ed. James Jennings, 1992, 53-65; 67-86. See also Reed's 'The Underclass Myth' in his *Class Notes: Posing As Politics and Other Thoughts on the American Scene,* 2000, 93-100.

62. Williams, 90. See also Barbara A.P. Jones, "Black Women and Labor Force Participation: Analysis of Sluggish Growth Rates," in *Slipping Through the Cracks: The Status of Black Women*, eds. Margaret C. Simms and Julianne M. Malveaux, 1986.

63. Harris, 178-179.

64. See the Edsall's revealing assessment of the GOP opportunities and Democratic challenges which resulted from the 1968 electoral defeat of Hubert Humphrey, in conjunction with the centrifugal political and ideological debates evolving within the Democratic Party. *Chain Reaction*, 90-98.

65. Kim Moody, *An Injury to All: The Decline of American Unionism,* 1988, 128. Moody provides a most instructive analysis of the significance of the Business Roundtable as a key mechanism for the re-consolidation of the U.S. capitalist class. For a related, and trenchant, examination of corporate capitalist labor policy in the United States, see James A. Gross's *Broken Promise: The Subversion of U.S. Labor Relations Policy, 1947-1994.*

66. Ibid., 128.

67. A number of scholars have underscored the profound democratizing effects of the sixties movements, largely inspired, and often led, by African-Americans and other people of color. Among the most cogent discussions are those of Michael Omi and Howard Winant, 1994; Howard Zinn, 2001/1980; Bell Hooks, 1984; Iris Marion Young, 1993; Robin D. G. Kelley, 1994, and Stephen Steinberg, 1995.

68. See *American Work: Four Centuries of Black and White Labor*, Jacqueline Jones, 1998, especially chapter 11, "Can You See a Tomorrow There? Industrial Transformation and Federal Civil Rights Legislation, 1929-1978, 337-368; and *Feminism in the Labor Movement: Women and the United Auto Workers, 1935-1975*, Nancy F. Gabin, 1990. Also see Gail Falk's "Sex Discrimination in the Trade Unions: Legal Resources for Change," in *Women: A Feminist Perspective*, ed. Jo Freeman, 1975, 254-276.

69. Thomas Byrne Edsall, *The New Politics of Inequality*, 128. See also Gary Teeple's careful examination of the modern evolution of welfare states, and the political requirements of capital restructuring, in *Globalization and the Decline of Social Reform.*

70. Teresa Amott, *Caught in the Crisis: Women and the U.S. Economy Today,* 64-66.

71. See Holly Sklar, "Trilateralism: Managing Dependence and Democracy—An Overview," in *Trilateralism: The Trilateral Commission and Elite Planning for World Management*, ed. Holly Sklar, 1980, 4.

72. Ibid., 7. Acknowledging the crisis perceived by U.S. capital, Holly Sklar underscores the *international* character of the crisis:

> [T]he post-World War II economic order began to disintegrate even before OPEC and Vietnam cracked the armor of Western imperialism. The new menace of 'stagflation'—stagnant economic growth with associated widespread unemployment plus rampant inflation—proved immune to modern economic medicine, highlighting the deepening economic crisis of world capitalism. Trade rivalry was mounting among the U.S., Japan, and Western Europe. West Germany and Japan were fast becoming economic Frankensteins, challenging U.S. hegemony over the international capitalist system. By the mid-sixties the traditionally U.S. trade surplus had begun to erode; by 1971 the U.S. was running trade deficits, importing more than it exported. A huge buildup of dollars outside the U.S.—a result of hegemonic military and foreign aid activities—became disruptive of international monetary relations. (p. 7)

73. Alan Wolfe, ""Capitalism Shows Its Face: Giving Up on Democracy," in *Trilateralism,* 1980, 296.

74. Ibid., 298.

75. Ibid., 298.

76. For a discussion of the controversy, see William Tabb's essay, "Social Democracy and Authoritarianism: The Two Faces of Trilateralism Toward Labor," in *Trilateralism,* 1980, 310 .

77. Ibid., 310.

78. Amott, 26.

79. Holly Sklar and Ros Everdell, "Who's Who on the Trilateral Commission," in *Trilateralism,* 1980, 90-131.

80. Tabb, 308.

81. Holly Sklar, "Overview," in *Trilateralism*, 28-29. Sklar's informative references and analysis have also been corroborated by my conversations with my colleague, Ruth Needleman, of Indiana University. Prof. Needleman was a progressive activist in support of the popular struggles in Chile, and an eye-witness to the destabilization and the conspiratorial build-up for the coup.

82. Gary Teeple, *Globalization and the Decline of Social Reform: Into the Twenty-First Century,* 2000, 134-135.

83. Gary Teeple, *Globalization and the Decline of Social Reform: Into the Twenty-First Century,* 2000, 1-4.

84. Ibid.

85. Gary Teeple, *Globalization and the Decline of Social Reform*, 81.

86. Michael Omi and Howard Winant, 1994, *Racial Formation in the United States: From the 1960s to the 1990s, Second Edition.*

87. Ibid., 121.

88. Ibid., 121-122.

89 Ibid., 122.

90. It is extremely important to note that in their efforts to define the meaning of new right politics, scholars often view the phenomenon from different vantage points, choosing to consider the national or international aspects of new right activity. Scholars may also consider particular effects of new right policy and practice with respect to particular constructs, that is, specific principles of social organization. In this case, however, viewing the new right through a race-only lens may impede ability to adequately make sense of new right activity with respect to gender or class or sexuality. Different scholars also use different terms to describe and denote similar policies and practices. In all events, understanding the starting points and lenses seems the most helpful way to avoid confusion. Ian Fraser, for example, has defined the new right in terms of international economic philosophy, emphasizing the work of Hayek and Milton Friedman as foundational. Gary Teeple, however, has considered Friedman's work, as well as that of his "Chicago boys," to be foundational to neo-liberalism. See Ian Fraser's entry on the new right in *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Politics*, ed. Iain McLean, 1996, 341-343. See also Gary Teeple's very illuminating discussion neoliberal political tenets and policies in his *Globalization and the Decline of Social Reform,* 2000, 81-131.

91. Steinberg, 98.

92. *Who Built America? Working People and the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture, and Society, Volume Two, 1877 to the Present*, 691.

93. Omi and Winant, 123. "Left and progressive analyses have argued that the defining project of the new right is the reassertion of 'patriarchy' by attacking the limited gains of the feminist and gay movements. While much of this is true, such analyses understate the crucial importance of *race* [emphasis in the original] as a defining issue."

94. Marable, 132.

95. Zinn, 553.

96. William Strickland, "Watergate: Its Meaning for Black America," *Black World,* 4-14.

97. Marable, 132.

98. Zinn, 545-546.

99. Ibid., 691-692.

100. Ibid., 692.

101. Ibid., 693.

102. Ibid., 693.

103. Ian Fraser, 326.

104. Amott, 44. It is important to note here that Carter was under considerable pressure from the banking sector.

105. *Who Built America? Working People and the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture, and Society, Volume Two, 1877 to the Present*, 694.

106. Fred Block, *The Vampire State: And Other Myths and Fallacies about the U.S. Economy,* 1996, 15.

107. Ibid., 16-17.

108. *Who Built America? Working People and the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture, and Society, Volume Two, 1877 to the Present*, 708.

109. Gary Teeple, 81.

110. Ibid., 709.

111. Ibid., 709.

112. Marable, 181.

113. Zillah R. Eisenstein, *Feminism and Sexual Equality: Crisis in Liberal America,* 1984, 114.

114. Ibid., 114.

115. Ibid., 115-116. Richard Cloward and Frances Fox Piven, *The New Class War* (1980).

116. The actual diversity of social and political strivings of women belie the simplistic notion of a single "women's" movement. See Alice Echols, *Daring To Be Bad; This Bridge Called My Back*, eds. Gloria Anzaldua and Cherrie Moraga; Paula Giddings, *When and Where I Enter: The Impact of Black Women on Race and Sex in America*; and Bell Hooks, *From Margin to Center*.

117. For an incisive discussion of the racism of the Reagan Administration, see Kimberle Williams Crenshaw, "Race, Reform, and Retrenchment: Transformation and Legitimation in Antidiscrimination Law," in *Critical Race Theory*, eds. Kimberle Crenshaw, Neil Gotanda, Gary Peller, and Kendall Thomas, 1995, 103-122.

118. Richard Cloward and Frances Fox Piven, *The New Class War,* 1980.

119. Eisenstein, 115.

120. Ibid., 115-116.

121. *Who Built America?,* 710.

122. Ibid., 724.

123. Ibid., 725.

124. Ibid., 726.

125. Ibid., 726.

126. It is important to note that while the struggle of the PATCO workers was a key battle of the decade. It was not the only crucial battle in which workers confronted and increasingly hostile capitalist class (witness the struggles of the workers of Local P-9 against the Hormel Meatpacking Company and the struggles of workers at Continental Airlines).

127. *Who Built America?*, 727-728.

128. Marable, 182.

129. *Who Built America? Working People and the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture, and Society, Volume Two, 1877 to the Present*, 753.

130. Teeple, 81-131.

131. *Who Built America?*, 752.

132. Ibid., 752.

133. Ibid., 753.

134. Ibid., 754.

135. Rhonda M. Williams, 89.

136. *Who Built America? Working People and the Nation's Economy, Politics, Culture, and Society, Volume Two, 1877 to the Present*, 756.

137. Ibid., 756.

138. Michael Parenti, *Democracy for the Few* (6th ed.).

139. Human Rights Watch, *Unfair Advantage: Workers' Freedom of Association in the United States Under International Human Rights Standards,* 2000, 71-170.

140. Kim Moody, *Workers in a Lean World: Unions in the International Economy,* 1997, 1-8.

141. Ibid., 2.

142. *Who Built America?*, 748.

143. Ibid., 749.

144. Ibid., 757.

145. Ibid., 758.

146. Ibid., 759-760.

147. Ibid., 760.

148. Ibid., 760.

149. Rhonda Williams, 90.

150. Kate Bronfenbrenner, Sheldon Friedman, Richard Hurd, Rudolph A. Oswald, and Ronald L. Seeber, "Introduction," in *Organizing to Win: New Research on Union Strategies*, eds. Bronfenbrenner et. al., 1998, 2-6. See also *Human Rights Watch, Unfair Advantage: Workers' Freedom of Association in the United States Under International Human Rights Standards,* 2000, especially pages 73-ff.

151. Moody 1997, 132-133. See also Dan La Botz, *Democracy in Mexico: Peasant Rebellion and Political Reform,* 1995, 21-42.

152. *Who Built America?*, 763.

153. Ibid., 764.

154. Ibid., 765.

155. Ibid., 767.

156. Ibid., 767-768.

157. William Julius Wilson, *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor,* 1996, 171.

158. Manning Marable, *The Great Wells of Democracy: The Meaning of Race in American Life,* 2002, 83-84.

159. Linda Burnham, "Welfare Reform, Family Hardship, and Women of Color," in *Race, Class and Gender: An Anthology, Fifth Edition*, eds. Margaret L. Andersen and Patricia Hill Collins, 2004, 371-379.

160. Ibid., 374.

161. Pem Davidson Buck, "Constructing Race, Creating White Privilege," in *Race, Class, and Gender in the United States: An Integrated Study, Sixth Edition*, ed. Paula S. Rothenberg, 2001, 31-37.

162. Bronfenbrenner et al., 1.

163. Bill Fletcher, Jr. and Richard W. Hurd, "Beyond the Organizing Model: The Transformation Process in Local Unions," in Bronfenbrenner et al., 37-53.

164. Moody 1997, 4-5.

165. Bruce Nissen, *Fighting for Jobs: Case Studies of Labor-Community Coalitions Confronting Plant Closings,* 1995, 1-7.

166. James B. Lane, "An Oral History of Mayor Richard G. Hatcher's Administration, 1980-1987," *Steel Shavings , 21,* 1982, 69.

167. Derogatory and denigrating accounts of the black people of Gary, Indiana and the Hatcher political administrations have become legion in the years since an unimaginable victory of the African-American mayor of Gary. Perhaps no predominantly black city of similar size has ever been subject to such virulently racializing attacks—still being constructed today. Although the focus of this dissertation is not the political rehabilitation of Gary, my research during the past several years has provided ample evidence that much, perhaps even most, of the criticism of Gary cannot be separated from efforts to maintain and prettify the infamous racialization for which Northwest Indiana has become so well known. The thoughtful student of politics will seize the opportunity to examine alternative and more useful accounts. One very useful point of departure for continued research and analysis would be Alex Poinsett's *Black Power Gary Style: The Making of Mayor Richard Gordon Hatcher* (1970), especially his "Introduction," pages.11-21; and Appendixes 1 and 2.

168. My conversations with an African-American Librarian at Indiana University Northwest, Ms. Audrea Gant-Davis, have clarified the fact that Gary, Indiana and Cleveland, Ohio had different terms for the political offices of mayor. Thus, Richard Gordon Hatcher remains the "first" black mayor to have a four-year term, while Carl B. Stokes was the first African-American mayor of Cleveland, where two-year terms were the standard.

169. One of the most disorienting ironies of political accounts of Gary, Indiana is that its admixture of African-American, Latina/o, and Euro-American residents is all too often reduced to a simplistic, zero-sum game of rancorous competition between white and black people. In a June 1969 memorandum reviewing discussions between Gary officials and Washington administrators, Richard Hatcher offered valuable insights to dispel the narrow framing of Gary:

> We asked, in essence, that HUD, HEW, OEO, and Labor regard Gary as an urban laboratory, and provide the city with the funds, technical assistance, and programmatic action necessary to change the ecology of the city. Gary, with approximately 60 percent non-white and Latin American population is currently experiencing the alienation and polarization that exists between black, brown and white people. This Balkanization of the races within the city affects all aspects of city life. As national attention is focused on whether multiracial political leadership can succeed, it is imperative that Gary be represented as a success. It is our basic assumption that through a federal-local partnership, Gary's

efforts at comprehensive rehabilitation can be realized." *Black Power Gary Style*, 165.

170. According to scholarly and anecdotal accounts, African-Americans accounted for better than 90% of Mayor Hatcher's 39,339-vote total. See Black Power Gary Style, 15. My conversations with Mrs. Pat Thomas, Mr. Lorenzo Crowell, both African-Americans and life-long residents, and Ms. Nancy Otano, a life-long Puerto-Rican resident, have also been very instructive on this issue.

171. Summarizing the first two administrations of Richard Hatcher, Indiana University Professor James B. Lane wrote in 1976 that "as Gary celebrates its 70th anniversary during America's bicentennial year, the city was probably less polluted, better governed, less a pawn of U.S. Steel, and more responsive to the needs of black people than at any point in its history.... He brought whites into his administration who shared his agenda.... He obtained a lion's share of federal funds for Gary, but opponents thought much was wasted on projects of debatable merit." See Prof. Lane's "An Oral History of Mayor Richard G. Hatcher's Administration, 1980-1987," in *Steel Shavings, 21*, 1992, 69.

172. While it is not the purpose of this dissertation to chronicle the historical evolution of racial politics in Gary, aspects of this history will be referenced in order to situate black working-class struggles within their proper context. Although a definitive political history of Gary has not yet been written, periods of this history have been more fully explored in several helpful volumes indicated in the bibliography for this paper. Parenthetically, it is important to note that one persistent problem encountered by this researcher, in both research and anecdotal accounts, has been the very limited discussion of how Latinas/os experienced the Black Power strivings for inclusion and autonomy in Gary. Future research, especially by political scientists, should be directed to this increasingly important topic. Robert Catlin has noted that the history of racial-ethnic backlash against Gary Black Power was nothing short of bizarre. See Catlin's *Racial Politics and Urban Planning.* Numerous written and personal accounts attest to the racial tensions and upheaval caused by black efforts to desegregate areas of Gary and white efforts to maintain segregated neighborhoods or leave altogether. See *Steel Shavings, 29*, 1999, 128-133.

173. It is critical to note that although many black working-class residents of Gary had supported Hatcher, there were also some who did not. Despite the overwhelmingly grassroots character of his campaign, a number of blacks (including USWA union leader Curtis Strong) had opposed Hatcher's candidacy for mayor because he was not perceived as "working-class," and was also seen as too close to white members of the Left in Gary's well-known section known as 'Miller." Although Richard Hatcher clearly had a working-class background (see Alex Poinsett's moving description of the migration of Hatcher's father from the South in *Black Power, Gary Style*); Hatcher's acquisition of a law degree from Valparaiso University had made him (in the eyes of some) "middle-

class." More to the point, perhaps, is the fact that a number of African-American workers, especially those in the steel-mills, had become accustomed to a kind of pecking-order politics in which various racial-ethnic groups were expected to "take their turns" at moving forward politically and economically. Despite Strong's role as the USWA representative in charge of building community "support" for Hatcher (after he had won the primary); Strong and a number of other black workers simply felt that it wasn't Hatcher's 'turn'. It is also somewhat apparent—although much more thorough investigation is needed—that Hatcher and his immediate supporters had not built close political ties with a sufficient number of his potential supporters among the Latina/o population. I am grateful to my friends Bill Fletcher, Jr., IUN colleague, Ruth Needleman; and Lorenzo Crowell of SEIU Local 20, for these helpful insights.

174. The enormous success demonstrated by Richard Hatcher in bringing millions of dollars into the city as aid cannot be fully understood apart from consideration of the highly political nature of Washington officials' investment of taxpayer dollars in creating urban success stories during the tumultuous sixties and seventies. Politics notwithstanding, however; the fact of Hatcher's success must also be understood as an indication of his personal intelligence, integrity, and influence with Republicans as well as Democrats. See Alex Poinsett's intriguing discussion in Appendix 2 of *Black Power Gary Style*, 177-190.

175. This point was made in two separate interviews with John Gunn, a resident of Gary, and former Mayor Richard Hatcher. Sadly, if not surprisingly, a number of blacks who had gained from Gary's traditional corruption were incensed when Hatcher sought to end "business as usual." One anonymous African-American resident spoke quite pointedly regarding the troublesome matter of black disenchantment with Hatcher, "Mr. Hatcher will not have the support of the professional who made a living out of politics. In the past, certain business was channeled to certain doctors, certain lawyers, certain grocery stores, etc. All of a sudden these fellows are not getting this business and they'll be out to defeat this mayor, no doubt about it. He's created a situation where guys are waiting on the sidelines to cut him up, people who can make you or break you. When you couple this with those of his followers who have become disenchanted, you have a pretty formidable force in the Black community working against him." See *Steel Shavings, 29*, 1999, 136.

176. Hatcher's critics vociferously denounced him as "anti-business." This recurring criticism must be put into perspective, however. A number of observers of local conditions have noted that when Hatcher became mayor of Gary, he made the major concerns of his constituents the key planks of his administrative agenda. As William Staehle has pointed out, "Downtown revitalization was not the highest priority item for Hatcher when he was first elected. His mandates were different. The people who voted for him were looking for *neighborhood* revitalization, open housing, improvements to social services....His relations with the downtown merchants and the

Chamber of Commerce suffered because of priority setting." See *Steel Shavings, 29*, 1999, ed. James B. Lane, 133.

177. Lane, *City of the Century*, 299.

178. Ibid., 301.

179. The lay-offs of steelworkers by US Steel sent seismic shock waves throughout the Gary community, and the terrible effects—including marital separations and divorces, suicides, increasing drug use, expanding crime, and dislocation—are still painfully remembered by many members and friends of families that experienced the reductions. Several years ago, during the late 1990s, some of my first students at Indiana University Northwest gave me riveting accounts of the effects of the lay-offs.

180. See Catlin's *Racial Politics and Urban Planning*, especially Chapter 3; and Greer's *Big Steel: Black Politics and Corporate Power in Gary, Indiana*, also Chapter 3.

181. I am thankful to Ms. Nancy Otonio, a life-long Puerto-Rican resident of Gary, for this insight.

182. The travails of Gary have not only been the result of problems in Northwest Indiana. The keen observer of political and economic troubles experienced by Gary residents will often note the hands of politicians further downstate. I am indebted to former mayor Richard Hatcher for this insight. For an illuminating exploration of problems of whiteness in the Northwest Indiana-Chicagoland area, the emergence of whiteness studies during the past several decades provides extremely valuable perspectives through which to view the evolution of racial hierarchies in areas like Northwest Indiana, statistically confirmed by sociologist Karl Taeuber to be one of the most racially polarized regions of the United States. See, for example, the striking essay entitled "How White People Became White," by David Roediger and James Barrett on whiteness in the Chicagoland area, contiguous with Gary, Indiana. See also Michael Eric Dyson's "The Labor of Whiteness, The Whiteness of Labor, and the Perils of Whitewishing." Although the scholarly work of Robert Catlin and Edward Greer do not properly fall within whiteness studies; their historical examinations of Gary and Northwest Indiana conditions also provide valuable insights into the dynamics of whiteness and their invidious effects on political and social relations. See Catlin's *Racial Politics and Urban Planning*, especially Chapter 3; and Greer's *Big Steel: Black Politics and Corporate Power in Gary, Indiana*, also Chapter 3.

183. Despite the decided shifts of the Carter Administration toward new right positions, relations between the administration and Richard Hatcher had been quite good. Hatcher had even been invited to work within the administration, but declined in order to remain at his post in Gary. I am thankful to Mayor Hatcher for this information.

184. See Manning Marable, *Race, Reform, and Revolution.*

185. Robert Catlin, "The Decline and Fall of Gary, Indiana," in *Planning*, 1988, June, 11.

186. Gregory D. Squires, *Capital and Communities in Black and White: The Intersections of Race, Class, and Uneven Development*, Gregory D. Squires, 1994, 2-3. For additional insights regarding the racializing objectives of deindustrialization and restructuring, see Rose M. Brewer, "Gender, Poverty, Culture, and Economy: Theorizing Female-Led Families," in *African-American Single Mothers: Understanding Their Lives and Families*, Bette J. Dickerson, 1995, 164-178.

187. Catlin, "The Decline and Fall of Gary," 14.

188. Nissen, xi-xviii.

189. *Latinas and African-American Women at Work: Race, Gender, and Economic Inequality*, ed. Irene Browne, 1999, 1-4.

190. John Bound and Laura Dresser, "Losing Ground: The Erosion of the Relative Earnings of African-American Women During the 1980s," in *Latinas and African-Americans at Work*, ed. Irene Browne, 1999, 61-102.

191. Richard G. Hatcher, quoted in James B. Lane, "An Oral History of Mayor Richard G. Hatcher's Administration, 1980-1987," in *Steel Shavings, 21*, 1992, 75.

192. Ibid., James B. Lane, 75.

193. Alex Poinsett, *Black Power Gary Style*, Appendix I, 175. Inasmuch as one of the most important tasks undertaken by Hatcher's administrations was providing job training and jobs for unemployable women of color—African-Americans and Latinas—the cuts to such programs as CEP and CETA resulted in lost opportunities, and thus greater privation, for marginalized women and their communities.

194. James B. Lane, 1992, 75.

195. Ibid., 75.

196. Ibid., 75-76.

197. Ibid., 77. During one of my interviews with Dr. Hatcher during early 2005, he carefully underscored the fact that while the flight of White people, and even Blacks, from Gary was certainly problematic; it was the flight of the capital controlled by Whites that eventually caused so much of the devastation of the city.

198. Ibid., 79-80.

199. Greer, 1979. My research has been further validated during 2005, when, as a community activist with the Calumet Project, I worked on a committee examining the tax abatement statutes and policies of the city. The history of U.S. Steel's financial dealing with the city and its people is replete with failures by the corporation to do it "fair share."

200. James B. Lane, 1992, 71.

201. Ibid., 93.

202. Ibid., 71-72.

203. Teresa Amott, *Caught in the Crisis: Women and the U.S. Economy Today*, 49ff.

204. Bound and Dresser, 1999, 89.

205. Amott, 61.

206. Irene Browne, 1999, 11-13; Amott, 61. See also Marta Tienda, Vilma Ortiz, and Shelley Smith, "Industrial Restructuring, Gender Segregation, and Sex Differences in Earnings," 1987, *American Sociological Review*, *52*(2), 195-210.

207. Karen Brodkin Sacks, *Caring by the Hour,* 1988, 13.

208. Fred McKinney, "Employment Implications of a Changing Health-Care System,' in *Slipping Through the Cracks: The Status of Black Women*, eds., Margaret C. Simms and Julianne M. Malveaux, 1989/1986, 200-215.

CHAPTER IV

BETWEEN A ROCK AND A SCALPEL

Introduction

Despite the emergence, since the 1970s, of a new consensus that asserts the virtual disappearance of race and gender discrimination in the United States; such injustices still affect workers in workplaces across the country.[1] The development of this approach to "understanding" discrimination has been aided by another widely-accepted notion, the idea of black women as hapless, helpless, and deviant political actors.[2] This case study was begun with the expectation that qualitative interviews with fifteen black women workers from Gary, Indiana would illuminate discriminatory conditions in their workplaces as well as their strategies for survival and resistance.[3] In this chapter we shall begin to learn more about the conditions in which study subjects worked, and how they understood their experiences of injustice.

The subjects of this study are all African-American working-class women, ranging from 42 to 71 years of age. The oldest subject was born in 1933, while the youngest was born in 1962. Most of the subjects were born and reared in Gary, Indiana, and are members of families that had previously migrated from various areas of the South to find gainful employment and to escape political and social domination. Several women who were not born in Gary moved to the city from areas of Mississippi or Alabama in early adulthood. Most of the women have been married and are either

divorced or have lost husbands in death. Several are currently married. Most have had children, and all are currently helping to care for family members as grandmothers, mothers, and/or aunts. All of the women are either graduates of high school or have attained a GED. Following their formal education and training, the subjects of this study worked at St. Mary's Hospital, Methodist Hospital, and Wildwood Nursing Home (now called Clark Nursing Home and Rehabilitation facility). During their years of employment in health care, each of the study subjects decided to become members of the Service Employees' International Union. Some of the women had been working in their health care workplaces for some time and had already developed considerable knowledge of unionism.[4] Those who entered their workplaces without previous knowledge of unionism had nevertheless gained a sense of the possibilities of change signaled by the Civil Rights, Black Power, and Women's Liberation Movements. Moreover, these women were soon baptized in the residual 1199 culture of SEIU.[5]

The Conditions and Survival Strategies Reported by Study Subjects

The subjects reported on a range of their workplace experiences covering several topics, including (1) training; (2) types of work performed; (3) pay; (4) hours of employment; (5) various types of discrimination encountered in the workplace; (6) racial-ethnic and gender compositions of the workforce; (7) union presence or absence; (8) general kinds of workplace conflicts; and (9) individual and collective strategies of survival and resistance. We shall begin this chapter by considering the information and analysis provided by the subjects regarding their work conditions. We shall then turn to the strategies of survival and resistance that they reported.

Training Required for the Workplace

The interviews revealed four basic processes of training/learning experienced by the subjects: (1) formal training at a school or employment training center, which resulted in some form(s) of official credentialing; (2) special training within the hospital or nursing home in which a subject was to be employed, usually conducted by a supervisory nurse or some other health professional(s); (3) "worker-to-worker" training on the job, in which a new worker learned the necessary knowledge and skills to effectively complete the tasks associated with a specific occupational category; and (4) "self-training," the process by which an individual worker "teaches herself" certain tasks, or task components, that either cannot be completely taught, or must be learned independently over the course of time. In some cases, a particular subject may have experienced more than one type of training. Speaking about her experiences with formal training and training at her workplace, Pat Thomas said:

> Well, when I first got hired in at Methodist, I didn't know anything about transcribing. Not a thing. So I had a little medical background which I learned at a business college, and by me being a typist and being able to type fast, they hired me on those grounds. I was taught by my immediate supervisor, which was a white lady, and she sat down and she taught me everything I needed to know about transcribing. Her name was Marcella Martin.

Marion Epps spoke at length about the special training she received, as well as her own efforts to train herself:

> Well, when I started at Methodist in 1975, you had a class that you had to attend which consisted of about 8 weeks. We had a nurse who taught the secretaries how to be a secretary and she also took you to the units where a secretary was sitting. The unit secretary would let you sit there and transcribe orders, or learn to transcribe orders and put them on the cardexes. That was about the way we learned to do it. And then, you have

> to learn much of it on your own, because no one can teach you how to read a physician's handwriting. You have to learn that on your own. And some of them have very bad handwriting. But as you kept dealing with these same physicians you eventually learned what the chicken scratch stood for.

Alter Jean Moss was quite instructive in her comments regarding the training she received from co-workers:

> I had a lot of people to show me the job, but I had a few people that taught me the job the right way, and that was Edna Barden, Charlotte Brown*, Daisy Freeman, and Jessie Tarver. For example, they showed me how to load the food on the trays at the right temperature; how to read the diets off of the cards prepared for each resident by the dietician; how to check the boxes of groceries when they were delivered; how to measure the amount of food that we would need for the next day; how to clean the carts when they came back from the units; how to clean all the dishes and set up the trays for the next meal; and how to clean up the kitchen after the cooks were done. They also schooled me about how to talk in front of certain administrators if we wanted to "send a message" to management.

An important insight to be gleaned from the interviews is that the processes of training and learning experienced by workers were not always adequate to the day-to-day completion of the tasks they were expected to perform. One probable reason why this inadequate training occurs is that training in an increasingly competitive economy is increasingly expensive; and limited, meager, and/or sparse training seems a reasonable feature of schooling for occupations in which the required skill sets are presumed to be relatively simple to teach and learn. Where such skill sets can be inexpensively taught to members of populations for whom more expensive and time-intensive training are not viable options; such training is deemed more "practical," politically expedient, and cost-effective. Such cost-benefit calculations are particularly important since the retrenchment of government-sponsored training that was such a characteristic feature of the "War on Poverty" interventions of the U.S. welfare state. Another reason for this is

that the reproductive work of caring[6] performed by study subjects ("the creation and re-creation of people as cultural and social, as well as physical, beings"[7]) has often been understood as work that women workers already know how to do. On this assumption, prospective employees would not really "need" more than a rudimentary level of training, since their projected tasks would be "common sense" for projected female employees. This kind of attitude regarding some service work was reflected in a telling comment made by Edna Barden regarding her training experiences, "You know, you have always had training in how to clean and do certain things; so, it's about like you would do in your kitchen at home." Edna's comment is revealing because it speaks to an attitude, a certain kind of expectation, often exposed in discussions of the gender-typing and race-typing of particular occupations.[8] We shall return to these matters in the discussion of subject experiences in the performance of varying types of tasks.

Types of Work Performed

The interviews revealed several broad and distinct occupational categories in which the study subjects worked. These categories include the following: (1) Transporter; (2) Nurse's Aide; (3) Darkroom Technician; (4) Dietary Aide/Helper; (5) Relief Cook (6) Dish Room Worker; (7) Medical Transcriptionist; (8) Unit Secretary; (9) Qualified Medication Aide; (10) Pharmacy Technician; and (11) Union Representative. Study subjects provided a number of descriptive comments about their workplace duties, although they did not always specify the full range of their required duties. Edna Barden provided the following comments regarding her experiences as a dietary aide:

> When I first came to Wildwood Manor in November, November 8th, 1966, I was hired as a helper in dietary, dietary helper. Q. Okay, and what did you do as a helper in dietary? A. In dietary, I would take the trays, it was an assembly line for fixing food, washing dishes. You didn't have to mop because they had someone there at night to do that. But the duties of fixing and preparing food for that particular day and also preparing stuff to set up for the next day, you did that also. And you also, when the trays were ready to receive and go out to the floor, sometimes if the load was short, you would have to go and do it, take it, extra work was being put on you.

Responding to a question about whether she (and her co-workers) were ever asked to work outside the job description of dietary aide; Alter Jean answered by saying:

> Uh, most of the time we followed the job description, but we volunteered to do other things like when we saw somebody that needed help. We would assist them. So it was a voluntary thing.

Louella Wallace described some of her experiences at Methodist Hospital as a relief cook:

> I work as a Relief in the Food Service Department. I used to work in the diet office, and I decided to transfer to get a better position, a more higher-paying position, and a straight day shift. I was bumped down to a part-time position after a full-time. My duties...I do early entrée cooking, late entrée cooking, I do vegetable cooking, breakfast cooking. I am the salad worker. I do desserts. I also do nourishments for the patients. Basically anything they need from catering.

Wilma Autry described her tasks as a unit secretary at Methodist, indicating (in a response to a follow-up question regarding working outside of job descriptions) that it was customary for unit secretaries to do so:

> In 1974 (the latter part), I went from a nurses' aide to being a unit secretary. Management was getting ready to build Southlake out on Broadway , and our class (for unit secretaries) was to be sent out there to work. That is what I remain today: a unit secretary. Basically we note doctors orders, answer the phones, referring callers to the needed party, ordering supplies for the unit, and that is just about it...Yeah, you did other things, because it was things in the description that would lead you

> to do just about anything that was asked of you. When we first started, we wrote everything out by hand on cards.

Marion Epps, also a unit secretary for many years, provided some additional insights regarding her experiences:

> Well, I am a unit secretary, they call it unit secretary. I was at Methodist, and I'm still there. I am really a gopher: we transcribe doctors' orders, we answer the telephone, we assist the physicians, we assist the nurses, we call and page doctors when asked to, we go pick up checks for doctors, direct traffic for patients' families and the patients; so we're a little bit of everything— we're more or less like receptionists. The secretary is sitting in the center, so she has to know everything that is going on the floor…I have been doing this job for 20 some years now. I began in November 1975. The only thing that has changed since when I started is that we have computers now. When I first started, we wrote everything out by hand on cards.

Mildred Wallace (no relation to Louella Wallace) spoke in brief regarding her duties within two job categories:

> I have various duties. One, I work as the CNA. I work as the QMA wherever deemed necessary. QMA, I pass meds. CNAs basically care for the residents, bathing, doing whatever. CNA means "certified nurses assistant," QMA means "qualified medication aide."

Priscella Wilson, the only pharmacy technician (now retired) in the study, indicated that her job was somewhat similar to that of a qualified medication aide, although with a considerably larger number of patient orders per shift. A pharmacy technician is responsible for assisting the hospital pharmacist in the preparation and timely dispensing of all medicines ordered by doctors. They are also expected to provide all intravenous therapy; assist unit secretaries in stocking all necessary unit supplies; and retrieving all discontinued medicines and returning them to the pharmacy.

Nurse's aides are expected to perform numerous tasks, which various interviewees only partially described. These tasks included the following: taking vital signs [temperature, blood pressure, pulse] for patients/residents; making beds; emptying bed pans; assisting patients to the toilet; changing and cleaning incontinent patients; passing ice water to patients; answering patient call lights; bathing patients/residents; changing sheets, keeping the living area tidy.

The interviews with study subjects highlighted several issues surrounding the types of work the women workers were expected to perform: (1) the devaluation of much of their work, due to the gender- and race-typing of many service occupations; (2) the "invisibility" of the mental and emotional contributions made by these workers to their workplaces; and (3) the contradictory significance of service occupations in the work and family lives of African-American women workers and black communities generally.

To some extent, the devalued status of the occupational category of nurse's aide, or assistant, seems emblematic for the entire range of paid tasks reported by the study subjects. This is partially true because, as the interviews indicate, almost half of the women of the study began their years of service work as nurses' aides (see interview texts in Appendix A). But there is another, more disturbing, reason for this conclusion; one about which study subjects did not inveigh, yet one that seems quite evident as a reader ponders the overall comments made by subjects. Much of the service work that goes on in the hospitals and nursing homes where the subjects worked is widely viewed as "women's work" and "unskilled." Indeed, from the earliest decades of colonial America, the patriarchal notion of "separate spheres" has generated the conceptions of

"domesticity," and "true womanhood;" and today these conceptions continue to shape our societal views and practices regarding paid and unpaid labor.[9] Customary notions and economic arrangements regarding who is most "naturally" inclined to do particular types of paid and unpaid labor—as well as the relative (remunerative) value of such labors—are largely shaped by this conception.[10] Historically and contemporarily, due to the occupational segregation of jobs by gender and by race, "domestic" and "caring" work has become associated with women of color and only the poorest of white women.[11] This is to say that although all workers in the United States are exploited, they are not all exploited in the same ways, or through identical social and politico-economic processes.[12] These similar-yet-different processes of labor differentiation have been succinctly captured by scholars such as Amott and Matthaei.

Throughout most of U.S. history, women and men of the same racial-ethnic groups have seldom performed the same kinds of unpaid and paid work. Within labor markets, this sex-typing and occupational segregation have been manifestations of the sexual divisions of labor within household and family arrangements. A second notable feature of systems of work has been that women of different racial-ethnic groups have generally not performed the same jobs, at least not in the same regions and workplaces. Such racial-ethnic and gender typing have helped to construct and maintain the hierarchical and oppressive practices that structure the U.S. economy.[13]

One of the most notable problems revealed during the interview process has been the "invisibility" of not only the subjects' physical labors in general, but also of their mental and emotional labors. It is this invisibility (largely due to both the denigrating

representations of black women[14] and the gender- and race-typing of African-American women's service work) that so often contributes to the devaluation of both the women who do such work and their labors as well. Evelyn Nakano Glenn illuminates and critiques this invisibility in her noteworthy essay, "From Servitude to Service Work":

> What exactly is the nature of the reproductive labor that these largely minority and supposedly unskilled aides and assistants perform? They do most of the day-to-day, face-to-face work of caring for the ill and disabled: helping patients dress or change gowns, taking vital signs..., assisting patients to shower or giving bed baths, emptying bedpans or assisting patients to the toilet, changing sheets and keeping the area tidy, and feeding patients who cannot feed themselves. There is much "dirty" work, such as cleaning up incontinent patients. Yet there is another, unacknowledged, mental and emotional dimension to the work: listening to the reminiscences of elderly patients to help them hold on to their memory, comforting frightened patients about to undergo surgery, and providing the only human contact some patients get. This caring work is largely invisible, and the skills required to do it are not recognized as real skills.[15]

Given the demeaning effects of political and popular discourse regarding service work, it may seem unthinkable that some African-American women workers might actually prefer service work in a hospital or nursing home to domestic service in a private home. Yet ironically, this very point was underscored for me in preliminary conversations with Mrs. Anna Dixon.[16] While explaining her reasons for ending her employment during the 1970s as a domestic for a middle-class white family in Skokie, Illinois; Mrs. Dixon noted that she had become aware of her white male employer's sexual interests in her. At the time, Mrs. Dixon was a widow, but she was unalterably opposed to being sexually exploited by her male employer. For Mrs. Dixon, the decision to immediately leave the employ of the white family was not difficult to make. Quite understandably (given her very strong religious faith), she described the news of a job

opening at Methodist Northlake from a friend who was working there as "a blessing." That opportunity—of which she had known nothing when she quit working for the Skokie family—enabled her to redefine and reaffirm herself as she wanted to be; to make a living without the dreaded sexual expectations and entanglements she had wanted so much to evade. Although the "living" was meager by standards of the period, it was one which would allow Mrs. Dixon to respect herself and live with relative autonomy and self-determination. This experience, related by Mrs. Dixon, resonates with many similar experiences related by African-American women.[17] Her preference for the tasks of hospital service work illustrates how many black women, in their difficult journeys toward economic and social well-being, have often been confronted by dead-ends that later served as bridges to something better and brighter. Mrs. Dixon's experience (which includes both her decision to leave one devalued job and her choice to seek a different kind of "devalued" job)[18] is reflected in the words of a 1985 essay by Julianne Malveaux, in which she responded to the question "What does it mean to be last?"

> To be last means that the jobs one holds to earn a living are the least desirable jobs in the occupational strata. To be last means the jobs we take are jobs that white women are fleeing as fast as they can. As white women reduce their participation in clerical work, black women increase that participation and find it desirable. Further, compared to white women, black women are disproportionately represented in the "blue collar" typically female jobs like service work. Of course, in some ways to be last means some progress: in 1960 more than a third of all black women held jobs as maids and other private household workers; by 1980 that proportion dropped to just six percent.[19]

Yet another aspect of the contradictoriness of the subjects' work in hospitals and nursing homes is the reality that for all of the devaluation of much of their work, the women of the study have all performed tasks that have been absolutely essential to the

safe, effective, and efficient delivery of health care in their communities. This is no less true for workers whose primary responsibilities may not have required as much technical and medical training as some other tasks. Despite the fact that some of the women performed tasks which entailed greater risks and more responsibility for direct patient care; no tasks performed within the health care institutions where the subjects worked could be understood as "non-essential."

It is important here to underscore the centrality of power and power relations to questions of who performs specific kinds of paid and unpaid labor, how these types of labor are valued (and devalued), and how the varied types of work are remunerated in society. Such matters are never simply questions of sociological interest, that is, questions of how diverse groups of human beings interact. These matters also raise critical issues of politics: how groups and individuals are positioned in society, who dominates and who is being dominated, who gets what, and why some get more than others in ways that systematically and structurally persist.[20] Such matters are therefore essential foci for political scientists seeking to explicate the entire range of factors—including class, gender and race stratifications—that foster domination and subordination in society.

Service Work Wages

The subjects reported a number of beginning wage rates for the workplaces in which they began their labors in health care. Those rates appear in Appendix B. The qualitative responses of study subjects clearly indicated the extremely low wages at

which these workers hired into their respective workplaces. The wages indicated are explicit indicators of the kinds of wages characteristic of secondary sector service employment at the time, and generally. Yet to more fully appreciate the significance of such wages for the subjects during the period under investigation for this study, i.e. the years from 1980 to 2000; a brief discussion of general trends impacting black women workers may be useful.

The extremely low wages reported by the women workers in this study are not simply reflective of the historical development of service work occupations as both "women's" work and work associated with devalued women of color.[21] These low wages are also reflective of the illiberal climate created by the economic and political forces that have shaped the landscape of U.S. working-class communities since the 1970s; especially within communities of color.[22] To underscore the adverse impact of political and economic sea changes upon the economic status, wages and survivability of black women; one need only consider some of the advances they had experienced in the years prior to the coming of new right retrenchment and the restructuring agenda of capital.

Within the context of the post-WWII boom period for the U.S. economy, African-Americans experienced some notable improvements in economic status as a result of their social movement struggles. Up through the mid-1970s, considerable numbers of black women entered white-collar occupations. During the period from 1950 to 1970, black employment in clerical positions rose from 5% to 21%. By 1970 black professional employment had almost doubled, rising to over 11%. By 1979, almost one-

third of black women in paid labor worked for federal, state, or local government. Manufacturing jobs had also begun to open to black women, and by 1970 at least 19% of manufacturing operatives were African-American women. During these years black women had finally begun to leave the world of "paid" domestic work behind, as their participation in this labor fell from 18% in 1970 to 5% in 1980.[23]

Economist Barbara A. P. Jones has made a welcome contribution to scholarly literature on black women's economic plight, by underscoring the impact of corporate capital flight upon wages and life chances in African-American communities such as Gary, Indiana. Reaching beyond the limits of neoclassical and structural economic theories,[24] Jones' work emphasizes the fact that social science attempts to explicate the economic plight of black women, and the implications of their labor market conditions for black communities, must examine the economic well-being of the entire black community and examine the economic status of black women in different socioeconomic classes. More to the point, the problems experienced by black women as workers cannot be separated from the range of problems impacting the community. Jones challenges social scientists to understand that the very same forces that affect black men affect black women—albeit in ways that are often quite different and lead to distinctive strategies of women. "Women from poor families, on average, have less schooling than women with more privileged background. That fact is compounded by the fact that women from poor families "...once employed, are disproportionately relegated to service occupations which are characterized by larger proportions of part-time positions, low wage rates, and frequent unemployment."[25]

Economist Rhonda Williams echoes Jones's emphasis on the meaning of capital flight for black workers in labor centers like Gary. Williams notes that many U.S. manufacturers closed down their operations in metropolitan centers in the West and Midwest, in order reestablish them in the southern United States (where unions have been kept less powerful) and overseas (where unions are fewer and weaker). Williams' researches show that, compared with the overall decline of 7.1% of Americans in manufacturing in the 1980s, the decline for black participation in manufacturing was 16.7%.[26]

The blunt truth about the kinds of wages reported by subjects is that they simply could not, and cannot, be expected to adequately support a worker and her family. This is especially true of women who, as we already know, have been reared in black working-class families and communities that were often marginalized with respect to economic and political resources. The persistent vulnerabilities of their families and communities have all too often continued to plague them in a myriad of ways. This reality has continuously posed dilemmas for women health care workers who have had to work to survive, yet at wages that make survivability extremely insecure.[27]

Hours of Employment

Interviewees reported a number of varying hourly employment arrangements to which they were expected to adhere. The arrangements are numerous, and appear in Appendix A. Perhaps the most notable feature to be gleaned from an examination of the shift schedules that subjects reported is the range of different hourly arrangements during which they were expected to work. Taken by itself, this wide range of arrangements may

appear innocuous. Yet when we consider the unstable employment that scholars have documented as characteristic of secondary sector employment, we are obliged to think about the difficulties the different hourly arrangements would pose for women with family responsibilities. Moreover, the women not only faced a number of different schedules, but in several instances, they had to confront regularly alternating arrangements. This is a feature very similar to the shift-work that has come to characterize such industries as steel and auto. In any event, alternating hourly schedules create problems for balancing home and workplace. The "poverty of time" can eventually take its toll, as feminist scholars Albelda and Tilly have noted:

> The fewer hours and lower earnings women with children are one reflection of the growing tug-of-war between work and family. As more and more women work outside the home, families face escalating burn out. Especially for families with children, important and unavoidable duties must be performed for households to function. Children of all ages need care, food must be bought and prepared, houses cleaned and maintained, bills paid, and family members clothed. This all takes time—and money. And despite the fact that work done in the home has no market value when family members do it, it is extremely valuable work. If the work is not done adequately, neglected family members pay the price first, and often society ends up paying as well.[28]

As both married and single women strive to meet the increasingly difficult challenges caused by demanding job schedules, they not only have less time to give to the demands of family, community, and personal life.[29] Indeed, they also tend to return to paid labor with unresolved concerns that further generate additional stress within already stressful situations. These workers are thus likely to become less healthy and less effective in their efforts to provide adequate care to the patients and families who have come to health care institutions for help. A vicious cycle is set in motion in which both consumers and providers of health care tend to lose.

Racial-Ethnic and Gender Compositions

The interviews provided an instructive look at the compositions of co-workers and supervisors in the workplaces in which the subjects were employed. Subjects primarily reported that their co-workers were usually "mixed," "mainly black and female," and "mainly white and female." Subjects also reported that, with respect to supervisors, their experiences were that supervisors were sometimes "mixed;" sometimes "mainly black and female;" sometimes "mainly white and female;" and, in one instance, "mainly white and male." The full statements appear in Appendix A.

A word regarding the connection between workplace compositions and workplace relations of power seems necessary here. In questioning the potential significance of the workforce compositions of health care workplaces, we are not simply concerned with the juxtaposition and interaction of social groups and their individual members. While we are certainly concerned with the social interactions taking place within environments of paid labor; from the angle of vision of political science, we should also be focused on the potential and real dynamics of power—the relations of power—that members of the working class encounter and embody in the social-structural spaces where they work for wages. As political historian Elaine Bernard observes, academics and workers alike often lose sight of the fact that "...the workplace remains one of the least democratic environments in our society. In fact, workplaces should be seen as factories of authoritarianism polluting our democracy."[30] If workplaces are therefore socially-constructed spaces of political power, in which members of unequal societal groups are further shaped by unequal relations of domination and subordination; political

scientists (and workers themselves) would be well served to consider the ways in which certain compositions of workers might contribute to the reproduction and/or reform of power relations in the workplace.

Bearing this focus on power relations in mind, we can see several important points emerging as we consider the interview responses of subjects. First, during their years of working in health care, the subjects experienced a range of workforces with co-workers who were mainly mixed and female, mainly black and female, or mainly white and female. Given the development of secondary-sector service work occupations, such compositions confirm existing data in social science literature.

Second, the subjects reported that in most instances, their supervisors were mainly white and female, mainly black and female, or mainly mixed (with more than one racial-ethnic group present, and with both females and males as supervisors). Such responses are not surprising, considering the historical development of most health care occupations (with the exception of physicians) as "women's" work. The subjects' experiences of having mostly white female supervisors is also not surprising, given the racial hierarchy that has become characteristic within the gendered occupational segregation of health care[31] in a modern capitalist society such as the United States. During the early stages of the industrial period, when immigrant and racial-ethnic women worked as household servants, they performed socially-reproductive labor for white "native" families. Such labor actually made possible the ideal of the female "belle" for women of the white middle class. Yet even when white immigrant women worked as household servants, it was black women who were called upon to perform "the dirtiest and most arduous tasks,

laundering and heavy cleaning." Over time, a "three-way division of labor" emerged, with white middle-class women at the top of the hierarchy, white immigrant women in the middle, and black (or other racial-ethnic) women at the bottom. During the latter stages of the industrial period, as capitalist exchange relations dominated more and more areas of life, socially-reproductive tasks that had formerly been done within households became market activities and opportunities for profit-making. Today, such activities as caring for the elderly, preparing food, and providing emotional support have also been reduced to the cash nexus of the marketplace.; and women are still relied on to perform the preponderance of these tasks. Yet such "female-typed public production" has been profoundly shaped by race, as reflected in the experiences of the subjects of this study:

> Racial ethnic women perform the more menial, less desirable tasks. They prepare and serve food, clean rooms and change bed pans, while white women, employed as semi-professionals and white collar workers, perform the more skilled and administrative tasks. The stratification is visible in hospitals, where whites predominate among registered nurses, while the majority of health care aides and house-keeping staff are Blacks and Latinas.[32]

The experiences the subjects reported regarding their black females supervisors are noteworthy. They are noteworthy because they speak to the improved occupational opportunities which emerged for black women workers as a result of post-Civil Rights training opportunities and the accompanying pressures of antidiscrimination and affirmative action legislation. The interviews also indicate disturbing evidence, however; of how the advancement of some black women has subsequently been experienced as an impediment by other black women in what Collins has referred to as a "new politics of containment." This exacerbation of class and gender tensions between black women becomes evident in responses in which subjects touched upon their experiences of

discrimination and workplace conflicts. The following comments by Theresa Brown provide one instructive example:

> Yes, when I first got hired at Wildwood, my supervisor (I think she was my supervisor), Miss King [NOTE: Miss King was an African-American woman (MTI)], told me I couldn't have a home, a place, an apartment to live in, or a car as long as I worked there. And I think that was my disadvantage, you know? Nobody should tell an employee that they can't prosper anywhere. That's the disadvantage that I think I had right there.

A second exchange excerpt further indicates the kinds of attitudes and conflicts some of the study subjects encountered with black supervisors. In this exchange Alter Jean was reflecting on encounters she had experienced with a black supervisor, Maureen Crump, prior to a strike by Alter Jean and other workers[33] for health insurance and respect:

> [W]e were single parents, didn't make much money, so they assumed that we were not gonna go out. The Crumps said that we were uneducated and simply following behind Alice Bush—who was a White union rep. They said this to put us down and weaken us, but it didn't work.

In an immediate follow-up question, this interviewer asked Alter Jean, "If Thomas Crump and Maureen Crump were not paying you what they should have...and if they were not respecting you because they thought you were just poor, black women; aren't those problems that are to some extent related to the fact that you were black AND women?" In response to this question (which encouraged her to reconsider her initial answer), Alter Jean responded by saying:

> Yeah, you are right. But you know, you didn't think of it...that way. But now that you put it like that, you do. Yeah, you are right.

The foregoing statements provide some indications about how the subjects' experiences with black female supervisory personnel undermined their survivability within a given workplace. While the existence of such behaviors and attitudes is nothing

new to social scientists; it is crucial to note that black women workers can, and do, identify such problems at a time when political, academic, and popular discourses often maintain that discriminations are mainly matters of the American past. The recent emergence of what some scholars are calling "the new consensus on race" has obscured the continuing significance of race in the United States.[34] As suggested by black working-class subjects of this study; the organization of racial domination is no longer as unambiguous as it was prior to the massive social movements for civil rights and black political empowerment. Black feminist scholar Patricia Hill Collins notes that while the rise of "a sizeable minority" of African-American women into the middle class represents "bona fide change;" the formal entry by some into formerly segregated residential, educational, and occupational spaces cannot obviate the continuing predicament of disproportionate numbers of black women and children who remain "poor, homeless, sick, undereducated, unemployed, and discouraged...." What seems patently evident now is that, in response to the powerful social movements during the 1960s and 1970s, dominant elites have repositioned previous hierarchical arrangements and rearticulated old exclusionary representations. The resulting hegemony has established what Collins has termed "a new politics of containment," which relies on "the visibility of a minority" of African-Americans (including prominent women such as Condaleeza Rice and Oprah Winfrey) "to generate the invisibility of exclusionary practices" so that "the more things change, the more they remain the same."[35]

Workplace Dangers

In this section, study subjects report on a variety of dangers, or potential dangers, they encountered in their workplaces. The statements confirm the unattractive aspects of certain health care jobs, while also revealing problematic situations that are seldom considered by those who do not work in health care institutions. Johnnie Andrews spoke about some of the challenges experienced by those workers who transported patients:

> Yes, you had to lift the patients. Some had to be helped into a wheelchair; some had to be helped onto a cart...mostly you got help on the floors at that time. But when I left they told me there wasn't any help. If you did not take your help from your department you did not get help. But it was not like that then.

Alter Jean Moss spoke at length about the various problems that a dietary aide would probably have encountered at Wildwood Nursing Home:

> Well, in the dietary we had the knives, hot water, and we had steam pressure. You had to be very careful with that because if you were making grits, if the water got low, the pot...top could blow off. So you had to be careful with that, and if we were pouring water out; you had to watch out for the boiling water. We had knives that came in every week (they were sent out to be sharpened), and you had to be very careful with those because if you put them in the sink with other dishes, if you weren't careful, you could get cut. So we were always cautious about that. And we worked with a slicer, slicing our own meat sometimes.
>
> Yeah...the sewage would back up...it would flood the halls in the dietary, flood the outside, and we would have to have somebody come in and unplug the drains. But we would still end up walking in it because we were trying to get the stuff out of the way because, the job was to keep going...We still had to do the job even though it wasn't sanitary. We still had to do the job and we made it work and it was hazardous to really be walking in it. When we had the floods, we would sweep the dirty water toward the drains as much as possible. That only happened every once in a while. It wasn't a regular thing.

Wilma Autry spoke briefly regarding the stress she encountered in her initial months as a unit secretary:

> Basically, I could say that if you were noting physician orders, if you didn't know what you were doing (and a lot of the nurses would depend on you), that could be dangerous to the patient if what you wrote was not exactly what that order said. T: Right. That is a stressful thing.

Louella Wallace talked very candidly about difficulties she encountered at Methodist Hospital, including how she became ill as a direct result of her work experiences:

> The difficulty I had was the problem with injections, we were working without gloves, because...at that time we did not wear gloves to handle the patients. And my fear was being infected by what the patient might have had. In 1980, when I was an aide out at Southlake, I contracted sarcoidosis from a patient...It is a lung disease. The patient was spitting up a lot of mucous with me going in and out of the room a lot. I contracted the infection and I think it causes pneumonia. They said that it was not airborne, so we could go in and out because it was just a special precaution. No TB was found, so we could go in and out of the room...I did come down with it. I have been burned since I've been in this position...I got several more burns to go along with it. I am being trained in a cooking position that I never wanted to work. I have water splashed on me, hot water all of the time. And then there is the lifting, and the pushing and the pulling of carts. I have torn my rotator cuff.

Marion Epps offered vivid descriptions of the dangers and pressures she has experienced working as a unit secretary:

> Well...I could transcribe an order incorrectly and then the nurse sometimes don't check what I transcribe and it could...be harmful to the patient. Yeah...sometimes we have patients that come in that should be in isolation and they don't put them in isolation. They don't tell me and then they bring the specimens and want to sit at my desk and I don't know what those patients have or what type of infection there is and I could take that to myself or home to my children. There is a safeguard but they're kind of lax about it, sometimes they don't even know until after certain tests have been run and then it comes back and says that the patient has this disease or they should be placed in isolation. So you have been going in and out of the room where things have transpired on your desk as far as the charts, physicians going in there and not washing their hands, and all of those germs are being placed right there in front of you.
>
> [I]t's pressure on you that you have to get so much done, you have to do this and they are constantly increasing things that you have to do within the time allowed for you to work that day and then there's co-workers

> there, stressing out because they're having problems so you're trying to be compassionate towards them plus compassionate towards the patients and first get your job done. Some days you just feel like throwing up both hands and say 'it's not even worth this.' Some days you might have charts that's just over ran because you are doing so much work, some days, like we have 33 patients on the floor. Not only do I have those charts 33 times, there's always more than 2 doctors on a chart, so I might wind up with those charts 3 times a day. And the charts, and plus the new admissions that's coming in. And you have nurses running over saying, 'I need this stack...right now', they want you to stop whatever you're doing to try and help them out. Well, then, who's going to help you out? And you're trying to get all of your work done before the next shift come in. And so it is kind of stressful.

Lynette Smith, who initially worked as a nurses' aide and later became a union representative for SEIU, spoke about her apprehensions about exposure to diseases and radiation:

> Well, we had isolations and there was a danger of catching the disease. And although you would have proper attire, you might still be exposed to the disease. If you was lifting you might hurt your back. At times radiation implants were used and we would still have to take care of the patient. Therefore, we may have still been exposed. You could only stay a certain amount of time in the room.

Theresa Brown spoke angrily about her exposure to AIDS, injury, and physical violence at Wildwood Nursing Home as a nurses' aide:

> [O]ne day...the paramedics came in for a resident.. This man had AIDS. We didn't know about it, but one of the paramedics came and when they got the guy on the truck, the nurse left me in the room with the patient, who was bleeding. She looked at her hands and she said "Theresa, I'll be back. I've got to get some gloves for myself." She went and got heavy gloves. We had the lousy gloves like you dye your hair with. There were no secure gloves for the people to work with the residents. And she came back and she told me to keep on putting ice in his mouth, and I said wait a minute, why is she running to go and get gloves? She didn't say that she was going to bring me none back. So I stopped. Something clicked...to stop. And that is when the paramedics came and got him and took him out to be taken to the hospital. Before the paramedic pulled off, he came back and told them off. He said, "You could have told me

> that he had AIDS." That is how we found out. And I didn't like that. I said that they didn't care enough for us.
>
> The only other things that we had to worry about was like residents hitting you and knocking you down, or biting you. That is normal for old people, 'cause you know they don't want to do nothing, and their mind is somewhat shot. I lifted everyday...Very strenuous. [A] patient threw me down. This lady was eighty something years old. I was trying to get her dressed. I had got her out of the bed and she didn't want to get up... But that is normal. I am just saying it is normal because people's minds are going and they don't know what they are doing.

The foregoing excerpts from statements of study subjects provide ample evidence of the types of workplace stressors and dangers, including exposure to disease, physical violence, and injuries, that have been regularly encountered by health care workers. Two points warrant consideration. First, the health care institutions in which the study subjects have worked have provided services to a large number of middle- and working-class patients.[36] Given the generally adverse impact of race, class, and gender stratifications on the health and health care access of U.S. residents;[37] it is worth remembering that disadvantaged Americans are more likely to seek health care—if they seek it at all—after a particular malady has progressed beyond preventive or curable stages.[38] This means that delivering health care to Americans who are socially and politically marginalized becomes more challenging and less likely to be as successful as it would be if these patients could access the health care system sooner, and with greater resources. Such situations often can make the work of caring more demanding—and thus more stressful, and sometimes hazardous—for health care workers.[39]

Conditions Reported: Types of Discrimination in the Workplace

In this section the study subjects presented many statements regarding their understandings of various forms of discrimination that they (had) experienced within their workplaces. Given that the objective of this case study has been similar to that of other phenomenological studies, in which scholars seek "to identify phenomena through how they are perceived by the actors in a situation;"[40] the subjects were neither coached nor expected "to qualify" their understanding of discrimination in their workplaces. The researcher assumed that oppressions and discriminations have been amply documented[41] in U.S. life; and that subjects were entirely capable of understanding when and how they have been treated differently from others in their workplaces on the basis of being black, being woman, being workers, and/or being representative of all these categories simultaneously.

We shall begin with representative statements regarding racial discrimination (to see all of the statements made, see Appendix A). In turn, we shall consider remaining representative statements by the subjects' regarding socioeconomic discrimination; gender discrimination; convergence (or intersectional) discrimination; discrimination linked to subjects' activism; and statements in which certain subjects initially rejected the notion of having experienced discrimination.

Racial Discrimination

The reader will note that study subjects reported a number of different experiences, illuminating the many disturbing ways in which the workplace lives of black women reflect the continuing significance of race. Johnnie Andrews, a transporter for

cancer patients, provides an intriguing (and at times, rather humorous) account of one of her encounters with discrimination at Methodist Hospital. While Ms. Andrews initially seemed somewhat hesitant about how she wanted to define the discrimination she had encountered; she was remarkably forthright in her description of the experience and her response:

> You know, I had one supervisor on the floor that did not call herself prejudiced, but she was. To me she was because when she first took over that floor, she said, "You will be off every third week-end." So the third week-end bypassed and I was not off. Three week-ends bypassed and I was not off. Then five bypassed and I knew I would not be off. Six week-ends passed and I wasn't off so I told her I wanted to talk to her and she looked at me very strange and she said, "Okay." We went into the conference room and I said, "Lottie has been off and you think she is white. She is not white; she is black like I am. But you can tell I am black because of my complexion. Why haven't I been off? Because you think I'm a good nigga. But I am not. I am not that good nigga." She said, "Oh, Johnnie, please don't say that, please don't say that. You will be off next week-end. Next week-end I was off, so that was that. I handled that real quick. I just nipped that bud in the head real quick, because I knew how. I had heard about it. I had heard that she was prejudiced...So I let her know I wasn't a good nigga.....

Edna Barden's account of her experience with racial conflict speaks to the difficulty black women sometimes have when trying to name what appear to be different types of injustices in the workplace. Her comments also illustrate that there are sometimes experiences with race that are quite unique to black women—especially when white women, as well as white men, are involved:

> Well, as I said, I never really worked anyplace but Wildwood Manor. And I never experienced anything as a Black woman, but I know I had a White boss (the owner of the place was White) and maybe she might have been a little jealous. She made a comment one day that I didn't like. The [white male] owner had asked us not to bring him any sweets with his meal as I was about to deliver the trays up for them. His wife (who was also one of the owners) apparently didn't know that he had spoken

> to us. So when I delivered the tray to them and put the sweets out and he didn't get one, he said, "Where's mine?" Then she spoke up and said, "Well, it's his food and he can eat what he wants." And this was a White woman saying this to me...And I was saying to her, "Well, I was only following what he said." So he said to her, "Well she knows what I said and she's doing right." You know, so, I didn't like the way she put it in that tone as if I was keeping something from him.

Pat Thomas's report of her conditions at Methodist Hospital shows that there are sometimes benefits to "being the only black" in a particular department. This is all the more true when the department is one in which skilled operations are performed for a health care institution. From Pat's story one can also see that marginalized workers are often in very precarious situations if they are not members of a union:

> Well, being the only black transcriptionist, and being...the person with the most seniority, there were a lot of whites that didn't like that and they would go around and say little things and they would take it back to management. But by being the top black person there was nothing management could do because I had a contract. But I did that, you know, hey, that's how I went. I had a contract to back me up, so, I lived by the contract...[B]eing a transcriptionist is like you're really needed and when you get good at it, they don't want to lose you so they are pleased with just about anything that you do. Well, in radiology, we really didn't have the problems the office girls had. Now being a transcriptionist, they kind of left us alone. But I could see the other Black girls that were in the office, how they treated them, how they were forced to work different shifts and they had to stay over if someone called off. They were made to work another entire 8-hour shift, and I didn't think that was right. And then they would wonder why would these girls fall asleep? Well, they have already completed one 8-hour shift and then they had to continue on to do another 8-hour shift. They were tired and you know they didn't get off until like midnight, you know, and they'd work maybe 7am to midnight..

Wilma Autry describes an angry exchange that occurred with one of her white female supervisors while she was working as a unit secretary at Methodist Hospital. Her recollection underscores the tense interactions that often occur between black and white

women working together in race and gender hierarchies. Wilma's description is striking in the way it illuminates the unique problems black women sometimes face when trying to exercise voice in unequal power relations where they must complement, and contend with, white women:

> I know at one time, the head nurse at that time was Mrs. Hofferth, and she would get feedback from her nurses on different things. If they would get upset with me, if I would ask them something or just say for example like I had a order or something and they were too busy and they didn't want to call the doctor, they would go to Mrs. Hofferth. I remember one incident we had. I can't remember exactly what it was, but Mrs. Hofferth came to me and she was saying that the nurse said this and that. [And I was thinking, you know, the nurse, the nurse.] I said, "When do I get a say in something?" I said, "When can you hear my opinion about something?" I just spoke like that to her and, I guess it kind of startled her because she looked at me and she just turned and left. But after that, when I would ask for a clarification, or when the nurses would get in a conflict with me about something and they would go to her; she would say, "No, you go back and you ask her, what to do." And after that, she kind of stood back and let them come to me. Then I could feel some relief from the tension between us, and the nurses would try to listen or to understand what I was asking. Then we communicated a little bit better.

Louella Wallace's memory of discrimination reminds us that while the social and political arrangements of racial segregation have been formally outlawed in the United States; in Gary, Indiana they have remained only an unregulated workplace away. Perhaps the most chilling aspect of Louella's remembrance is that her white female supervisor upheld the "right" of a patient to be racist toward an employee of Methodist Hospital:

> When I worked at Southlake (I transferred out there to Southlake in 1980, I worked as a nurse's aide, and there was a white female patient, she refused treatment from me, she didn't want me to wait on her because she said I was a down-home girl from the South...So she didn't want a Black nurse's aide. So they told me never to go into that patient's room as long as she was there. I wasn't allowed to go into her room

> because I was black. Yes, the head nurse told me that she would get someone else to go in there, and "Do not go back into that room." If I went back in there...I'd be written up.

Marion Epps and Bernita Drayton spoke in very animated terms about the double standards of job evaluation and personnel treatment that they have experienced during their years at Methodist Hospital. Here again, the careful observer will note that although the naming of a type of unjust treatment may sometimes be a matter fraught with some uncertainty;[42] there is absolutely no doubt (for Bernita) about the experience(s) described—or the strategies for confronting the injustice(s):

> The disadvantage that I know I've experienced...is because of what is happening right now with the secretary. It's like they watch everything you do, because she's Black. They watch everything. And if a white secretary would come in and do the same thing, nothing is said. And we're doing the same job, why is one being watched and one is not being watched? And this is what's happening. And even with the Black RN, whatever she does, if she makes one mistake, she's called into the office because you could have hurt the patients. But now we had a nurse, an RN, who gave the patients the wrong medication and nothing was said about it except we just write up an incident report and call in the doctor. But with the Black RN...all she forgot to do was to do the INO [Note: To perform an INO means to measure the amount of fluid taken in and expelled by a patient] on a patient....[S]he was called into the office because they said that was detrimental. But I thought medication was more detrimental than measuring someone's urine....

When asked whether or not she believed that she had experienced any racial discrimination, Bernita responded by saying :

> I don't think I've experienced a whole lot because of my race. I think the biggest thing for us is favoritism. If you suck up to the boss, then you're okay, if you are in the clique or in the crowd with them, then you're okay but me, I just do what I have to do. I don't care whether they like me or not. I do my job and I go home. Anybody who doesn't like that, it's just too bad. And I have said to them on occasion, is it because I'm Black? But they won't, of course they're not going to go with that. But I don't experience a whole lot of that, no.

Lynette Smith's interview responses, like those of Louella Wallace, shed light on the persistence and pervasiveness of discriminatory ideas and behaviors based on race. For Lynette, a dedicated union organizer who began working at Saint Margaret of Mercy Hospital (now defunct) as a nurses' aide; the experience of discrimination was extremely hurtful when it resulted from attitudes and actions of Lynette's fellow union members:

> Yes, we often had experiences. I'll give you an example. When I worked in pediatrics they were signing out the formula rooms to the Spanish-speaking workers. For some reason they weren't putting black workers in the formula room, but we did eventually get it straight. We always felt like...everyone should do all of the duties on the job description. As black women we felt that everyone else who wasn't Black was doing everything and we were not. All the jobs on the job description should be distributed evenly.
>
> Before 1980, it was more racism in the hospital, but by 1980 it was okay. You know it wasn't like it was before.
>
> [S]ometimes, I have been upset when one of our [union] supervisors out of New York, didn't send me to negotiations because I was Black. Eventually, after some work within our union, we got that part straightened out, too. But you know we had some little set- backs like that, too within the union, you know.

Priscella Wilson gave a very forthright account of her experiences with discrimination at Methodist Hospital. In her description, Priscella makes a clear connection between the persistence of workplace inequalities and the assault against unionism being conducted by hospital management personnel:

> Well, coming into Methodist, I was a very young lady and I was looked upon as being, I guess you can say, a cocky person or someone who didn't understand the experience of the workplace. So that was a disadvantage for me and also being a Black female was also a disadvantage. And then just to have come in on that level as a nurse's aide. They wanted to deem that job as a low self esteem job. It did not seem like a "low-self-esteem job for me.

> I might have been tempted on several occasions to keep quiet; but I am the type of person that has a voice, I've got a voice that will say what's on my mind. So, if it had come to me in any type of racism or prejudice, I simply corrected it and let them know where my place was, or where their place should be with me regarding this situation. I think that right now, hospital management is trying to define the union workers there at the hospital as misleading people or people that think that they have so much more than what management feels we should have. I mean, we're human beings and we have rights and we should be dealt with respectfully, and sometimes that just doesn't come over.

Socioeconomic Discrimination

In this section study subjects provide responses to questions regarding their experiences with "socioeconomic discrimination." The reader should note that this researcher used the notion of socioeconomic discrimination during the stage of analyzing interview data to better ascertain injustices that occur mainly as a perceived result of functioning as an employee within a given workplace. Analytically, the concept serves as something of a conceptual net that "catches" injustices not specifically understood by study subjects as racial, or gendered.

Anna Dixon talked about the way she was denied any raises at Methodist Hospital for several years because she did not wish to be an informer on her co-workers:

> In the cafeteria, they had this particular supervisor who was over the cafeteria, and if you didn't have nothing to tell her concerning something about another co-worker, you didn't get a raise. And I never had anything to say to about co-workers because I had too much business of my own to take care of. That's why I never had nothing, so I never did get a raise. I didn't get a raise in 5 years, I had worked there 5 years for the same price, I mean for the same wages that I was hired in with.

Bernita Drayton spoke pointedly of her concern regarding the ways in which supervisory personnel make distinctions between workers in order to promote the hospital's apparent campaign to undermine the effectiveness of the union (SEIU):

> I think one of the biggest disadvantages of working at Methodist Hospital is the way they divide union and non union. They keep us divided by, you know, 'the nurses are so much better.' [T]hey make people think that they are better than us and they reward people in different ways. They gave us, as a matter of fact, for Secretaries Week, a little bitty, little radio that you clip on and it's plastic, of course, it had Methodist Hospital plastered on it to show their name, so in other words, we're advertising for them. But we found those little radios in the store, 2 for $5 and then later on we found them for 2 for $3. But we talked about....,they only paid because they bought them in bulk...and that didn't make us feel good. Yet they gave the nurses umbrellas and coupons to a spa and they give them all these nice things. So you know, that's a disadvantage because everybody should count. No matter, everybody has something that their doing that makes the hospital work. And we are the ones that make the hospital work...We talk about incentives and inspiring people to do more and to do better. Right now they have our people stretched out doing far more than they've ever done before but they have never talked about compensating them in any way and that's what it's about.
>
> You know, if they want to make the nurses receive more money for working extra time, when we work over we should be paid as well. Our housekeepers right now are not only cleaning sometimes 31 rooms a day for one housekeeper, they also have to spot mop the hallway. The nurse's station sometimes does not get cleaned because they have all the patient's rooms to do, which the patients should come first. So, you know, there we are in a nasty hospital. But they're not compensating these people that they're working them to death and these people are getting sick. And when they call off then they are even shorter, so they want them to do a little bit more. So it's ah, it's kind of unfair to all of us.

A former unit secretary and nurses' aide, Shirley Baldwin spoke about the discriminatory system of evaluation and "merit" that she encountered in her initial years in health care. Her description is disturbingly similar to that of Ms. Anna Dixon:

> You know, if you did what you were asked to do—and the head nurse liked you—then you got a dollar or maybe fifty cents, or whatever she wanted to give you. [T]hat was it. If you didn't like me then you wouldn't give me a raise; I would still be making the same thing.

Theresa Brown offers a strikingly insightful account of her experiences at Wildwood Manor Nursing Home. Theresa's comments were in response to a follow-up

question posed by this researcher on why black Gary entrepreneur and Wildwood owner, Thomas Crump, refused to provide health insurance for Wildwood workers. While Theresa's account addressed her understanding of socioeconomic discrimination in her workplace; it also provides a revealing assessment (by at least one black working-class woman) of the interplay of class, race, and gender in Gary, Indiana during the late 1980s:

> He was not helping the poor person. You know, he is a black entrepreneur, but sometimes entrepreneurs don't treat people fair; they make the money off the backbones of people who don't have nothing. And that's how I looked at Crump. You know, he was successful, he was on Bank One, he was on this and that. And when you've got that kind of money—I know you're supposed to put money back into your business and a lot of black companies don't put money back into their businesses, to keep their business going right—you should help the people. But he didn't help the people who made it for him. And that's where he was wrong. He didn't give back to the people who made him get that far. He wouldn't have had that money in his pocket if we weren't working in that nursing home. And that's how I look at Mr. Crump. He didn't care for his employees who got him to where he got it. That's the only thing I think about it. I know you can't give all because you want to make it too, you know; mostly your name is on that stuff. But he could have done a little bit better for the rest of us, the people, the workers. That's all I can say.

Gender Discrimination

In this section Louella Wallace, Lynette Smith, and Priscella Wilson all shared their views on their experiences with workplace discrimination on the basis of gender, or sex. For Louella, the unequal treatment of female and male employees could not be separated from the cost-cutting measures of management at Methodist Hospital. Additionally, although Louella did not explicitly speak about any "intersection" of different types of discrimination; her comments clearly reveal that in her own experiences

of paid work, she associated problems with gender discrimination with the differential treatment of black and white workers:

> I feel that they [management] decided to break down the kitchen and take away the full-time positions, because it is all females that they broke down from full time—with a lot of seniority—to part-time. The males, they haven't done anything to their hours. They haven't cut their pay or anything. But the females they cut...All of the females that got cut were black. I just feel that certain things that happen there just because you are a female. You don't have the advantages that the rest of the people have out there, because if you are a Black female you have a harder chance for advancement. But if you are a white female, you could advance yourself and you will stay there for a minute. But for black females, it is more like they want to keep you down.

Lynette Smith pointed out that in her own case, the most notable problems of gender discrimination arose as a result of the biases of her co-workers in the hospital:

> Well, when I worked as a union rep, I had women and men [who was workers at the hospital] to say that they needed a male rep, because the hospital was too smart for women...Yeah, these was workers at the hospital after I became a rep.

Priscella Wilson gave a very careful description of gender discrimination at her workplace:

> Well, as far as work schedule is concerned, I know that the industry can't just say you can work this certain schedule but they don't seem to want to intervene or try to give in to the women who have children and families. I thought that this should have been spoken to in my department a little bit differently... and...some places are different and it depends on what type people you work with, which ones will give you that opportunity to use family medical leave on certain things or to use your personal time off for certain things... But if management would lay down the ruling as far as what should be done and how it should be done, that might help. So people can have...more continuity in their workplace. It's very difficult sometimes when you have men that don't realize that it takes the neatness and organization to also make a department run. Regarding our wages, I found out a couple of years ago, a young man that was much, much younger than me (not only in age but in time) was making $2 more than me, [so I rectified that, when I found that out.] So that could be another stressful point as far as a disadvantage. Because

> management doesn't want you to talk about your wages. But of course, some of us have to delve into that because it is necessary for fairness. And I appreciate a fair trade with anything.

Convergence (Intersectional) Discrimination

The notion of "convergence" discrimination was adopted during the stages of coding and analysis of data to refer to black feminist theoretical conceptions of "intersectionality" and to encapsulate interview responses in which study subjects explicitly spoke about their experiences of more than one type of discrimination at the same time in the workplace. The reader should note that at best, the notion of "convergence" does not fully address the complexity to which feminists refer by using the construct of "intersectionality." Convergence mainly addresses the presence of multiple forms of oppression, or multiple constructs and principles of social organization, within the same institutional and social spaces. This understanding of "simultaneity" represents one of the earliest efforts of second-wave African-American and Latina feminists to articulate understandings beyond the theoretical and political exclusions they confronted in their own popular social movements of the 1960s and 1970s.[43] Yet the notion of convergence discrimination does not really address a second crucial point of feminist analysis; the recognition that constructs of race, class, gender, and sexuality shape, and are shaped by, one another. As responses of study subjects will indicate, this recognition was neither explicitly nor widely shared by the women of this study.

In the first of two responses presented in this section, portions of the actual question posed by this researcher have been included, in order to fully illuminate the progression of the discussion. Alter Jean was speaking about her experiences at

Wildwood Nursing Home in the days leading up to the successful eight-month strike of workers for health insurance:

> [W]e were single parents, didn't make much money, so they assumed that we were not gonna go out. The Crumps said that we were uneducated and simply following behind Alice Bush—who was a White union rep. They said this to put us down and weaken us, but it didn't work.
>
> T: Now, Jean, let me just probe a little bit with you on this question, because earlier in our conversation you had said that you did not think that you had experienced any disadvantages because you were a woman. You also said that you didn't think that you had experienced any disadvantages at the workplace because of your race. Now, here might be a good place to think about what you just said because if Thomas and Maureen Crump... were not paying you..., and if they were not respecting you because they thought you were just poor, black women (many of whom were single heads of households), aren't those problems that are to some extent related to the fact that you were black and women?
>
> J: Yeah, you are right. But you know, you didn't think of it (laughs) that way, but now that you put it like that, you do. Yeah, you are right.

Noted in a previous section as an expression of her awareness of gender discrimination, Louella Wallace's statement also indicates her recognition, to some extent, of an interplay between race and gender discrimination:

> There is a lot. I feel working within Methodist Hospital...that certain things that happen there just because you are a female. You don't have the advantages that the rest of the people have out there, because if you are a black female you have a harder chance for advancement. But if you are a white female, you could advance yourself and you will stay there for a minute. But for black females, it is more like they want to keep you down.

Discrimination Linked to Workplace Activism

In this section, workers talked about their experiences of being retaliated against as a result of their union activism. Alter Jean spoke about her experience of being denied

a promotion immediately following the workers' victory in the 1988-89 strike at Wildwood:

> Well, the only thing I remember (after we came back after the strike) was that there were scabs (you know, the people that came in and worked when we went on strike). One of the jobs for a cook opened up. And management told me since I went out on strike another woman qualified. She had more time than I had to get the job, because she worked the job while we were out on the strike. She got the job you know, but that is what it said in the contract. It was work performed. Okay, so she did perform the job. I didn't perform the job, so they gave it to her and so that was one disagreement I had there.

Louella Wallace presents a riveting description of her problems with workplace injustices. Responding to this researcher's question about working outside of her specific job description, Louella went on to portray a punitive hospital management:

> We had to do a lot of things as a nurse's aide then, but it increased more in 1980. They [hospital management] wanted us to start doing work that the LPN's did. They wanted us to start...shaving groins and prepping patient's for surgery and it wasn't the position of a nurse's assistant to do it. And I complained about it and I think that that was one of the reasons I was terminated...
>
> Well, I learned that I had gallstones, and I went into the hospital to have surgery. That's when management brought me my pink slip in the hospital. While I was in the hospital I was terminated. While contract negotiations were going on. My supervisor...was Elnora Donaldson. She had told me if I had the surgery, I would be terminated. But my doctor had told me if I didn't have the surgery I would die, because the gallstones had broke up like gravel, and that was poisoning my system. So Dr. McDonald told me to have the surgery and I had it. Because I had started getting where I was passing out. And Elnora told me if I passed out on the job, I would be fired; and if I had the surgery I would be fired. So when I went in and had the surgery, she came to my room on the fifth floor and gave me a pink slip and it stated that I was terminated. I know that the reason I was demoted after nineteen years (down to a part-time employee) was because of my union activities. If it wasn't for my union activities I know that management would have never tampered with my position. I would have been still working in that position— and my co-workers are still in that position— because management only cut my co-workers because they cut me, to justify their

> action by saying that there were three employees that were cut, not just me...And the only reason I think that they did it is because of my union activities.

We shall now consider several important issues to be considered in the study subjects' reports. First, the women's reports indicate expressions of discrimination that were structural (e.g., stratification of workers by both sex/gender and race) and/or personal (i.e., resulting from the attitudes and/or behaviors of some other human actor. These actors were sometimes management representatives, sometimes patients or clients being cared for by the subjects, and at other times co-workers. In fact, even union members and officials demonstrated discriminatory attitudes and behaviors reflecting the operation of race-ethnicity, class, and patriarchal principles and forms of oppression in the society. Such experiences not only attest to the persistence of such discrimination(s) in the workplaces of the study. They also attest to the varied, complex, and often painful constraints within which the subjects learned (how) to work. The subjects' reports also suggest that scholarly and activist attention must more effectively address the pernicious interaction between the structural conditions of discrimination in workplaces and the discriminatory behaviors and ideas of the human beings employed in those workplaces.[44] Where such attention results in concrete, organized, and protracted efforts to effectively address discrimination(s) in the workplace; those efforts should be guided by the understanding that discriminations in the workplace cannot be fully understood without better understanding their connections with unequal power relations and inequalities in the broader social order.[45]

A second observation to be gleaned from the reports speaks to rather subtle, albeit telling, distinctions between the realities of oppression and discrimination. The subjects

reported specifically about the experiences which they believed they had with discrimination. The subjects also spoke about experiences other workers had to which they believed they were witnesses. Whether personally experienced or indirectly witnessed, however; the experiences reported were mainly those of individuals. Here we should pause to consider an important distinction noted by political theorist Iris Marion Young[46] between the systemic manifestations of oppression(s)—which target social groups and their members in society—and their individuated expressions of workplace discrimination which often loom much larger in the individualist analyses which characterize much of contemporary social science and popular discourse in the United States.[47] The key issues here are (1) the importance of seeing the reciprocal relationship between the workplace experiences of discrimination and the systemic processes of oppression(s) in the society as a whole; and (2) the urgency of recognizing the social group experiences and identities of individual workers. Not only do manifestations of societal oppression and workplace discrimination tend to mutually reproduce themselves; but the current political and intellectual climate often tends to obscure—even obliterate—the realities of oppression within U. S. society. In turn, when societal oppression becomes obscured, discrimination in workplaces becomes more difficult to take in hand.[48] The experiences of African-American women workers in this case study clearly challenge the current consensus regarding color-and gender-blind workplaces. Regarding the second issue, the subjects' reports also indicate that discriminations within the workplace (although often identified as experiences of individual black women) cannot simply be understood as individuated occurrences experienced by single members of an

identifiable aggregate.[49] The similar reports provided by women within the study cohort point to the social-group (and not merely individuated) character of the reported forms of discriminatory experience. Yet it is precisely the existence of this discriminatory behavior toward social groups in workplaces that is often categorically denied by employers and public policy experts. Moreover, the recurring failures to honestly confront and effectively address the discriminations of groups and their individual members remain two of the most intractable and corrosive problems facing contemporary U.S. unions and their mainly-white-and-male leaderships.[50] We shall return to this matter shortly.

A third crucial matter raised by the reports of discrimination is the problem of the workers' somewhat contradictory responses to questions about their experiences of discrimination: at times confirming their experiences of discrimination with confidence; at other times expressing ambivalence—even outright denial—about their workplace encounters with discrimination.[51] There are several issues to consider here. First, it is not at all uncommon for people who have been victimized by oppression and discrimination to sometimes be ambivalent about such experiences, or to even deny such experiences altogether. Two well-known scholars, Thomas F. Pettigrew and Joanne Martin, have addressed this seeming contradiction in an important essay concerning discrimination within U.S. workplaces:

> Perhaps in defense against the severity of these obstacles to advancement as well as in support of their self-worth and dignity, many women and minorities may deny the extent to which they are victims of discrimination practices. When the salaries of carefully matched samples of males and females with full-time jobs were compared in one study, the women earned significantly less despite similar age, education,

> work experience, hours worked per week, etc. (Crosby, 1982). When questioned, the women involved were quite willing to agree that women in general were discriminated against, but they did not see themselves personally as victims of discrimination.[52]

Philomena Essed's more recent examination of black women's accounts of their experiences with "everyday racism"[53] extends the insightful work of Pettigrew and Martin by considering the denial of discrimination and oppression as one adverse consequence of approaching experiences of discrimination as essentially matters of personal weakness. Professor Essed tells us that:

> It is revealing to consider a frequent point of confusion in this regard: that *being* discriminated against is the same as *feeling* discriminated against [emphasis in the original]. The implication is that discrimination doesn't exist if you refuse to *feel* discriminated against. If you don't feel the discrimination, then you need not have any trouble with it, according to this logic. Being troubled by discrimination, after all, is like having problems, and having problems can be seen as being *powerless.* It is clear that when one considers the experience of discrimination a sign of personal weakness (i.e., having problems), one will be tempted to suppress the awareness and pretend that there is nothing wrong. This attitude is often expressed as: "You just make it harder for yourself if you start noticing all the discrimination. You have to rise above it." Keeping silent about racism, however, does not make it go away. Everyday racism is not the personal problem of blacks. It is a massive societal problem. "Rising above it" can therefore only mean constantly drawing attention to racism and challenging it.[54]

As the careful observer will note, in this researcher's conversations with subjects, women on several occasions offered ambivalent answers and denials about having encountered instances of discrimination (much like the women to whom Pettigrew and Martin referred). Upon further careful probing, however, the same women acknowledged that they had indeed experienced discriminatory attitudes and behaviors. To some extent, this apparent contradiction may be explainable in part by a second point, the fact that at times, a person's experiences of multiple forms of discrimination are extremely difficult to

unravel and distinguish. Feminist scholars Amott and Matthaei have underscored this problem in their examination of the different-yet-similar economic sojourns of varying groups of women in the United States:

> First, it is often difficult to determine whether an economic practice constitutes class, race, or gender oppression: for example, slavery in the U.S. South was at the same time a system of class oppression (of slaves by owners) and of racial-ethnic oppression (of Africans by Europeans). Second, a person does not experience these different processes of domination and subordination independently of one another; in philosopher Elizabeth Spelman's metaphor, gender, race-ethnicity, and class are not separate "pop-beads" on a necklace of identity. Hence, there is no generic gender oppression which is experienced by all women regardless of their race-ethnicity or class.[55]

A third crucial fact to be remembered is that the long history of suppression[56] of African-American women's distinctive ideas about their oppressions makes it extremely unlikely that always and everywhere black women would readily (and with untrammeled confidence) identify the multiple oppressions that daily shape their lives. Such an expectation would seem yet another form of "blaming the victim;" for it fails to recognize the many ways in which oppressive institutions, processes, and stereotypes have undermined the ever-present potential of subordinated black women to consciously develop their identities and "make a way outta no way." If identity is, as social theorist Stuart Hall has observed, "a political process,"[57] then the ambivalence of black women workers in telling their stories about workplace discriminations is, in part, an expression of the struggle they must wage (individually and collectively) to find validation of their experiences outside of themselves; in environments in which they, their labors, and their ideas are normally dismissed and denigrated. Learning to articulate the complex societal and social-group constraints of their lives is undoubtedly a measure of the mettle for

which black women workers have become legend. It also seems an unacknowledged aspect of the process by which African-American workers must come to consciousness and develop their political self-organization in their workplaces and communities. Such struggles have been eloquently underscored, for example, in the writings by African-American women about their efforts to come to consciousness and conscious action during the 1960s and 1970s. In particular, the writings of the Mount Vernon/New Rochelle Group[58] and the Combahee River Collective express the painful processes by which these black women gained understanding of their conditions, themselves, and the means of resistance at hand. Sharon Kurtz notes the "consciousness-raising" experiences of women in the Combahee River Collective:

> The Combahee River Collective, a Boston black women's collective in the 1970s, describes black feminists' "feelings of craziness before becoming conscious of the concepts of sexual politics, patriarchal rule, and, most importantly, feminism....we had no way of conceptualizing what was so apparent to us, what we knew was really happening."[59]

A final point to consider in this matter of the seeming contradictoriness of black women's reflections regarding discrimination is that the nuanced experiences of discrimination reported by the study subjects help to underscore the difficulties routinely encountered by oppressed workers in articulating such experiences with the existing language of social science and popular discourse. Such language (which cannot be understood apart from the unequal power relations in which we live and work)[60] does not always provide a sound basis for examining the lived experiences of oppression—especially when those forms of oppression interactively constitute one another. Puerto Rican and Jewish

feminist Aurora Levins Morales attempts to point beyond the constraints of our existing language toward more effective understanding of the complexities of oppression and resistance:

> What we have discovered is that it is not possible to win large numbers of women to a program of ending patriarchy if what is required is that they leave outside all the other components of their lives—colonialism, class oppression, racism, heterosexism and much more... Only a feminism that is inclusive, that fully integrates the expertise of all women, that does not indulge in a hierarchy of liberation agendas will be capable of bringing large numbers of women together in long-term alliance. Therefore, the theory we need to be developing is one that helps us understand the relationships among our different and multifaceted lives with all their specific struggles and resources. Rather than build unity through simplification, we must learn to embrace multiple rallying points and understand their inherent interdependence.
>
> Such a theory needs to move away from the idea of "intersections" of oppression and assume a much more organic interpretation of institutional systems of power. Although the intent is to address complexity, the idea of distinct intersecting realities still treats the social categories of "woman, "working class," "lesbian," "person of color," etc., as if it were possible to separate someone's "woman-ness" from her class position, her "racial"/ethnic position and so on. But these social categories do not exist in their "pure" state....[61]

Diana T. Meyers amplifies the concerns of Morales regarding the limits of our current popular and social science languages to name the nuances giving substance and shape to our lives. Meyers carefully explains:

> Current ordinary American English does not furnish language for use in first-person singular identity avowals that gives equal weight to diverse group determinants of identity and that prompts individuals to consider how these identity determinants interact. Colloquial language that demarcates class identities does not exist—according to our social mythology, almost everyone is middle class. Racial categories are conceptually muddled, and affirmations of racial identity are so fraught with emotional uneasiness that they are often perceived as inflammatory. Yet, the ethnicities of racial "minorities" are sidelined, so their race remains on center stage. In contrast, for whites, ascriptions of ethnicity take precedence over race...Equated with humanity itself, maleness and heterosexuality go unmentioned, whereas womanhood,

> homosexuality, and bisexuality are mandatory and salient categories of self-description. Although people are intersectional subjects, many of them do not know it, for our discourse exaggerates the significance of some group memberships while discounting the significance of others.[62]

Chinese-American feminist Tessie Liu proposes initial steps toward the more nuanced, structural, and relational analysis called for by Morales and Meyers in her very instructive essay, "Teaching the Differences Among Women from a Historical Perspective:"

> At present, although within women's studies we speak often of race, class, and gender as aspects of experience, we continue to organize our course around gender as the important analytical category. This focus is both understandable and logical because, after all, our subject is women. Yet I would like to suggest the usefulness of organizing courses around the concept of race. By understanding how race is a *gendered* social category (emphasis in the original), we can more systematically address the structural underpinnings of why women's experiences differ so radically and how these differences are relationally constituted. [63]

Returning to the study reports on discrimination, we find several remaining observations to which we should give some attention. While some subjects expressed ambivalence and denial regarding the question of whether they had experienced discrimination in their workplaces, a number of other subjects confirmed their experiences of multiple forms of discrimination without any hesitation. Such reports not only confirm the presence of various types of discrimination operating in environments of paid work; but they also confirm what numerous radical scholars have acknowledged for several decades: that scholarly and activist attention should be devoted to the further examination of how these different forms operate to shape the work experiences of such workers. The works of such feminist scholars as bell hooks, Patricia Hill Collins,

Beverly Guy-Sheftall, Margaret Andersen, Deborah K. King, Nancie Caraway, Elizabeth V. Spelman, and Sharon Kurtz have all emphasized that social scientists must be attuned to the "intersectionality" which "occurs at various levels of institutional, cultural, and individual analysis, and in the dynamics among them."

> The structural level of analysis focus on institutions such as workplace and economy, education, church, government, medicine, and so on. Structurally, intersectionality is visible in citywide or employer-specific sex- and race-segregated labor markets... The cultural level includes ideologies that explain and justify oppression, and the ways in which different locations are symbolically represented. On a cultural level, intersectionality analyzes stereotypes or "controlling images" through which dominated groups are viewed... For example, some clericals reported images of the "minority single mother" to be a factor in their evaluations for raises or promotions. Regarding individuals, intersectionality theory analyzes self-definitions, identity, consciousness, or interpersonal interactions... However invisibly, each system of domination constructs the others.[64]

In particular, Sharon Kurtz's emphasis on the need to be attuned to the ways in which various systems and forms of discrimination are "interdefining" of one another helps to create the image of a complex network of interactions and constraints within which workers learn to function—what Patricia Hill Collins and Margaret L. Anderson have referred to as a "matrix of domination."[65] This matrix represents a myriad of constraints for workers that often overlap and hem them in, undermining their capacities to act in their own behalf. Yet the matrix also holds hidden opportunities for workers to resist on the basis of numerous aspects of their complex identities. Such workplace opportunities, however; are often lost because scholars and social change activists view them as "divisive" and irrelevant to more than a relative few workers in a particular workplace or industry.[66]

Before leaving this discussion of the study subjects' reports of their experiences with discrimination, some comments regarding socioeconomic and convergence discrimination seem necessary. These two descriptors were chosen during the stages of coding and evaluation of qualitative responses in order to broadly determine the kinds of discrimination to which subjects might have been attuned in their workplaces, and to try to better distinguish types of discrimination from one another. While understanding responses regarding race and gender discrimination seemed relatively straightforward matters; identifying and making sense of subjects' insights about class discrimination and the existence of multiple and interdependent forms within the same worksite did not always seem as likely. Several things become clear, however; as we consider the subjects' responses.

First, the study subjects' insights help to confirm what contemporary social science researchers have been asserting for years: that U.S. workers are often quite conscious of the realities of class and class differences in ideas and behaviors.[67] Notwithstanding certain wrong-headed and widespread notions about U.S. women having "questionable commitment to class struggle;" as being "poor candidates for union organization;" and as historically demonstrating the characteristics of "docile workers;"[68] the reports of the subjects clearly indicate that class, class consciousness, and unified class behaviors are very important matters for the working women of this study.[69] The subjects' descriptions of their workplaces also help to explain the very positive attitude of the women toward unionism. Questions of power in the workplace, i.e. questions of how to adjust, modify, and/or transform relations of domination and subordination, are

therefore as significant today as they have ever been—especially for workers who continue to confront workplace segregation by gender and race.

Second, the subjects' responses indicate that contrary to the logic of those unionists and/or scholars who have equated low rates of unionization historically with "weak class consciousness;"[70] social scientists and trade union activists would do well to examine much more closely the probability that the low unionization rates of women (as well as other expressions of class struggle), are largely related to the fact that "women are segregated into the least-skilled, lowest-paid jobs in the economy, precisely those jobs that are most difficult to organize, whether held by men or women."[71] Thus, instead of attributing perceived differences (of gender and/or race-ethnicity) in class conflict to "different psychologies," political science research will yield more useful analyses by investigating actual workplace conditions of labor and relations of power; "the different situations that confront men and women workers."[72]

Regarding "convergence discrimination," the accounts of study subjects indicated that while subjects tended to leave unexamined the question of how different forms of discrimination shape one another (as well as workers' ideas and actions) in the workplace; the subjects did express their awareness of being affected by more than one type of stereotype or discriminatory behavior in their workplaces. While this fact may seem patently obvious, and thus somewhat insignificant; from the vantage point of understanding how oppressed people (can) come to critical political consciousness, it actually challenges us to think more carefully about how black women workers address the constraints within which they work. Although the study subjects' accounts tend to

confirm Robin Kelly's understanding of "the centrality of race in the minds and experiences of African-Americans;"[73] the women's accounts also confirm Kelley's understanding of the necessity for grasping the differences between the experiences and responses to domination of black working-class women and those of black working-class men.[74] Knowledge of how the study subjects viewed their own experiences emphasizes what feminists have been theorizing during the past several decades: that to truly understand (and nurture) working-class identities, consciousness, and activism; social scientists and social change activists must learn how various discriminations converge in shaping the experiences—and the responses—of workers in real worksite situations.[75] That black women workers may currently lack well-developed understandings of why they have certain experiences is less important than that they clearly understand that they are being dominated and constrained, and that they (can) distinguish between diverse types of discriminatory influences in their lives. Such understandings—which further confirm the capacities of members of subordinated social groups for self-knowledge and self-definition[76]—may yet evolve as the results of continuing struggles and more systematic reflection aided by social change research.

NOTES

CHAPTER IV

1. See *Voices of Dissent: Critical Readings in American Politics (Fifth Edition)*, eds. William F. Grover and Joseph G. Peschek, 2004; *Women. Households, and the Economy*, eds. Lourdes Beneria and Catharine R. Stimpson, 1987; *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment (Second Edition)*, Patricia Hill Collins, 2000; *Workplace Justice: Organizing Multi-Identity Movements*, Sharon Kurtz, 2002; and *Whitewashing Race: The Myth of a Color-Blind Society* and Michael K. Brown et al., 2003, for excellent discussions on persistent inequalities in the United States. See also Yanick St. Jean and Joe R. Feagin, *Double Burden: Black Women and Everyday Racism*, 1998, Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*, 1993. For a political-institutional examination that underscores the persistence of racial discrimination in U.S. workplaces, see also Paul Frymer, "Racism Revised: Courts, Labor Law, and the Institutional Construction of Racial Animus," *American Political Science Review*, 99(3), August 2005, 373-387.

2. Collins, 69-96. See also *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But some of Us Are Brave: Black Women's Studies*, eds. Gloria T. Hull, Patricia Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, 1982; Maxine Baca Zinn, "Family, Race, and Poverty in the Eighties," in *Black Women in America: Social Science Perspectives*, 1990, 245-263; and Deborah K. King, "Multiple Jeopardy, Multiple Consciousness: The Context of Black Feminist Ideology," in *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought*, ed. Beverly Guy-Sheftall, 1995, 294-317.

3. The concept of *survival and resistance strategies* has been drawn from the work of several scholars. My use of the concept is intended to refer to those relationships and activities to which study subjects committed themselves in order to meet the obligations of household and workplace.

4. A number of study subjects noted during interviews that they had first learned about trade unionism from their relatives. In some interviews, subjects also noted that previous worker struggles around workplace injustices had convinced them of the importance of unionism. See subject interviews in Appendix A.

5. The story of SEIU's evolution as one the country's most diverse and activist trade unions (including its 1980s merger with the 1199 Hospital Workers' Union), is beyond the scope of this dissertation study. Nonetheless, through interviews with study subjects, as well as SEIU organizers and staff members Alice Bush and Lorenzo Crowell; this researcher has glimpsed some of that complicated political history. See also *Workplace Justice: Organizing Multi-Identity Movements* by Sharon Kurtz for a discussion of some of the relevant history.

6. Despite considerable, and continuing, debate during the past four decades, the concept of social reproduction remains one of the most contested of social science categories. Discussion of the concept in this research paper is not intended to provide a definitive examination of this conception. Indeed, the concept warrants further investigation and study. For examples of insightful contributions, see Lourdes Beneria, "Reproduction, Production and the Sexual Division of Labour," *Cambridge Journal of Economic*, 3, 1979, 203-225; Eleanor Burke Leacock, *Myths of Male Dominance: Collected Articles on Women Cross-Culturally,* 1981; Sandra Harding, "Why Has the Sex/Gender System Become Visible Only Now?" in *Discovering Reality: Feminist Perspectives on Epistemology, Metaphysics, Methodology, and Philosophy of Science*, eds. Sandra Harding and Merrill B. Hintikka, 1983, 311-324; Hazel V. Carby, "White Woman Listen!, and Nancy C. M. Hartsock, *The Feminist Standpoint Revisited and Other Essays,* 1998, especially "The Feminist Standpoint: Developing the Ground for a Specifically Feminist Historical Materialism, 105-132.

7. Evelyn Nakano Glenn, "From Servitude to Service Work: Historical Continuities in the Racial Division of Paid Reproductive Labor," in *Unequal Sisters: A Multicultural Reader in U.S. Women's History, Third Edition*, eds. Vicki L. Ruiz and Ellen Carol DuBois, 2000, 437.

8. Glenn, "Racial-Ethnic Women's Labor: The Intersection of Race, Gender and Class Oppression," in *Review of Radical Political Economics*, 17(3), 1985, 86-108.

9. Lisa Brush, "Gender, Work, Who Cares?" in *Revisioning Gender*, eds. Myra Marx Ferree, Judith Lorber, and Beth B. Hess, 2000, 161-189.

10. Carol Groneman and Mary Beth Norton, *To Toil the Livelong Day: American Women at Work, 1780-1980,* 1987, especially their "Introduction," 3-17. See also Elizabeth Clark-Lewis, "This Work Had a End," *African-American Domestic Workers in Washington, DC*, 1910-1940, in Groneman and Norton, 196-212.

11. Glenn, "Racial Ethnic Women's Labor," 87-97. See also Barbara Reskin, "Occupational Segregation by Race and Ethnicity Among Women Workers," in *Latinas and African-American Women at Work: Race, Gender, and Economic Inequality*, ed. Irene Browne, 1999, 183-204.

12. Teresa Amott and Julie Matthaei, *Race, Gender, and Work: A Multi-cultural Economic History of Women in the United States (Revised Edition)*, 1996, 24-26.

13. Ibid., p. 24.

14. Toni Cade (Bambara), *The Black Woman: An Anthology,* 1970; Patricia Morton, *Disfigured Images: The Historical Assault on Afro-American Women,* 1991;

Patricia Hill Collins, *Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice,* 1998; and Hazel V. Carby, *Cultures in Babylon: Black Britain and African America,* 1999.

15. Glenn, "From Servitude to Service Work," 454.

16. See Dissertation Diary, in Appendix D, Entry for 02/08/04.

17. See, for example, the personal remembrances of African-American women pressed into domestic—and sexual—servitude during the nineteenth century in *We Are Your Sisters: Black Women in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Dorothy Sterling, 1984. See also *More Than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas*, eds. David Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine, 1996. The work of Bonnie Thornton Dill is especially instructive regarding the attitudes and survival and resistance strategies of twentieth-century African-American women employed as domestic workers. See *Across the Boundaries of Race and Class: An Exploration of Work and Family Among Black Female Domestic Servants*, Bonnie Thornton Dill, 1994.

18. Irene Browne and Joya Misra have acknowledged the importance of understanding that "...even within domestic work, hierarchies of inequality may be more complex than might first appear." See "The Intersection of Gender and Race in the Labor Market," Annual Review of Sociology, Vol. 29, 2003. See also P. Hondagneu-Sotelo, *Domestica: Immigrant Workers Cleaning and Caring in the Shadows of Affluence,* 2001. "For example, there is important variation in pay, flexibility, and the amount of autonomy that domestics experience in their jobs—particularly depending on whether workers are live-ins, live-outs, or housecleaners...Indeed, as immigrant workers become more established, they may move from more exploitative live-in positions to more flexible and well-paid positions as housecleaners. Similarly, American-born racial and ethnic minority women have moved from domestic work positions to service sector work...which is still devalued, but perhaps less exploitative...." (p.12)

19. Julianne Malveaux, "Current Trends and Black Feminist Consciousness," *The Black Scholar, 16*(2), 1985.

20. Brush, 161-163.

21. Glenn, "From Servitude to Service Work," 442-456.

22. Maxine Baca Zinn, "Structural Transformation and Minority Families," in *Women, Households, and the Economy*, eds. Lourdes Beneria and Catharine R. Stimpson, 1987, 155-171. See also Teresa Amott, *Caught in the Crisis: Women and the U.S. Economy Today,* 1993.

23. Teresa Amott and Julie Matthaei, 1996, 178-179.

24. See Mary Corcoran's critique of these scholarly approaches in her essay, "The Economic Progress of African-American Women," in *Latinas and African-American Women at Work*, ed. Irene Browne, 1999, 35-60. Among her most pointed criticisms, Corcoran observes that:

> The key issue in neoclassical economic theories of women's wages is how husbands' higher earnings and sex-role socialization lead to a sex-based division of labor within the home whereby women interrupt their careers to stay home and raise children. This interruption in turn lowers women's employment and work experience, which results in lower wages for women. The key issues in structural theories of women's wages are the causes and consequences of occupational segregation of the sexes and labor market segmentation... Structuralists sometimes raise the issue that the 'female' labor market sector may b stratified by race, but usually stop there. These standard poverty and wage models offer few insights into African American women's work experiences. (p. 36)

25. Barbara A. P. Jones, "Black Women and Labor Force Participation: An Analysis of Sluggish Rates," in *Slipping Through the Cracks: The Status of Black Women*, eds. Margaret C. Simms and Julianne Malveaux, 1986, 27.

26. Rhonda M. Williams, "Getting Paid: Black Women Economists Reflect on Women and Work," in *Sister Circle: Black Women and Work*, eds. Sharon Harley and The Black Women and Work Collective, 2002, 90.

27. Rose Brewer, "Black Women in Poverty: Some Comments on Female-Headed Families," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 13*(2), 1988, 334. See also Rhonda M. Williams, 91.

28. Randy Albelda and Chris Tilly, *Glass Ceilings and Bottomless Pits: Women's Work, Women's Poverty,* 1997, 54. See also Brush, 165-167.

29. See A. R. Hochschild, *The Time Bind: When Work Becomes Home and Home Becomes Work,* 1997, and J. B. Schor, *The Overworked American: The Unexpected Decline of Leisure,* 1991.

30. Elaine Bernard, "Creating Democratic Communities in the Workplace," in *A New Labor Movement for the New Century*, ed. Gregory Mantsios, 1998, 6.

31. Diane Nilsen Westcott, "Blacks in the 1970s: Did They Scale the Job Ladder?" *Monthly Labor Review*, June 1982, 29-32.

32. Glenn, "Racial Ethnic Women's Labor," 104.

33. The 1987-88 strike by Gary health care workers at Wildwood Nursing Home (now Clark Nursing Home and Rehabilitation Facility) was one of the most important battles waged by workers in Northwest Indiana during that decade. While a full examination of the strike is beyond the scope of this study, workers and SEIU organizers who participated have provided valuable insights regarding this relatively unexamined labor battle. See Appendix A for workers' comments and Appendix D for diary notes.

34. Michael K. Brown et al., *Whitewashing Race: The Myth of a Color-Blind Society,* 2003.

35. Patricia Hill Collins, *Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice,* 1998, 13-14.

36. This conclusion has been based on scholarly investigation and anecdotal evidence (both indirect and direct). This includes conversations with health care workers and union officials at their workplaces; and personal observations conducted by this researcher during the research period for this case study.

37. D. Stanley Eitzen and Maxine Baca Zinn, *Social Problems (Sixth Edition),* 1994, 401.

38. Ibid., 401.

39. See Carolyn McLeod and Susan Sherwin, "Relational Autonomy, Self-Trust, and Health Care for Patients Who Are Oppressed," in *Relational Autonomy: Feminist Perspectives on Autonomy, Agency, and the Social Self,* 2000, 259-279. The authors of the essay examine the probable effects of oppression on the relative autonomy, and health care outcomes, for patients who are members of oppressed social groups. In so doing, they help to illuminate real and probable challenges confronting health care workers—who are themselves members of oppressed social groups.

40. A. Strauss and J. Corbin, *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques,* 1990.

41. Iris Marion Young, "Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship," in *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology*, eds. Robert E. Goodin and Philip Pettit, 1997, 256-272. See also *What's Class Got To Do with It? American Society in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Michael Zweig, 2004; *Whitewashing Race: The Myth of a Color-Blind Society*, Michael K. Brown, Martin Carnoy, Elliot Currie, Troy Duster, David B. Oppenheimer, Marjorie M. Shultz, and David Wellman, 2003; and *Experience, Research, Social Change: Methods from the Margins*, Sandra Kirby and Kate McKenna, 1989.

42. When study subjects have expressed difficulties in naming specific experiences of discrimination (and oppression), they may have been reacting, at times, to their own perceptions of educational differences between this researcher and themselves. At other times, however, their feelings of uncertainty and/or confusion have spoken to the very real problem of the theoretical and practical "invisibility" of certain experiences of oppression. This problem has been highlighted by a number of multicultural feminist scholars who have sought to ground their theoretical and practical interventions in critical race feminisms. For an example, and discussion, of such work, see Hope Lewis's "Embracing Complexity: Human Rights in Critical Race Feminist Perspective," *Columbia Journal of Gender and Law*, *12*, 2003.

43. See the 1974 Black feminist statement by the Combahee River Collective as a brilliant presentation of this understanding.

44. Myra Marx Ferree, "She Works Hard for a Living: Gender and Class on the Job," in *Analyzing Gender: A Handbook of Social Science Research*, eds Beth B. Hess and Myra Marx Ferree, 1987, 322-323.

45. Bookman and Morgen, *Women and the Politics of Empowerment*, especially the introductory essay, "Rethinking Women and Politics," 3-29. See also Cohen et al., *Women Transforming Politics*, 2-7.

46. Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference,* 1990, especially Chapter 2, "Five Faces of Oppression," 39-65.

47. Ibid., 43.

48. Michael K. Brown et al., *Whitewashing Race*, especially the "Introduction" and chapter five, "Civil Rights and Racial Equality: Employment Discrimination Law, Affirmative Action, and Quotas."

49. In "Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship," Young makes important distinctions between a social group, an aggregate, and an association:

> I shall not attempt to define a social group here, but I shall point to several marks which distinguish a social group from other collectivities of people. A social group involves first of all an affinity with other persons by which they identify with one another, and by which other people identify them. A person's particular sense of history, understanding of social relations and personal possibilities, her or his mode of reasoning, values and expressive styles are constituted at least partly by her or his group identity. Many group identifications come from the outside, from other groups that label and stereotype certain people. In such circumstances the despised

> group members often find their affinity in their oppression. The concept of social group must be distinguished from two concepts with which it might be confused: aggregate and association. An aggregate is any classification of persons according to some attribute... At times, the groups that have emotional and social salience in our society are interpreted as aggregates, as arbitrary classifications of persons according to attributes of skin color, genitals, or years lived. A social group, however, is not defined primarily by a set of shared attributes, but by the sense of identity that people have... By an association I mean a collectivity of persons who come together voluntarily—such as a club, corporation, political party, church, college, union, lobbying organization, or interest group. An individualist contract model of society applies to associations but not to groups. Individuals constitute associations; they come together as already formed persons and set them up, establishing rules, positions, and offices. Since one joins an association..., one does not take that association membership to define one's very identity in the way, for example, being a Navaho might. Group affinity..., has the character of what Heidegger calls 'thrownness': one finds oneself as a member of a group, whose existence and relations one experiences as always already having been." (p. 262)

50. Sharon Kurtz, *Workplace Justice*, especially chapter three, "Labor and Identity Politics: Historical and Contemporary Experiences," 43-65.

51. See the responses of the subjects in Appendix A, in the file entitled, "Denies Discrimination." The responses of the workers to these questions were generally similar and quite sparse. They were therefore placed in the appendix and generally discussed in the final portion of the chapter.

52. Thomas F. Pettigrew and Joanne Martin, "Shaping the Organizational Context for Black American Inclusion," *Journal of Social Issues*, *43*(1), 1987, 52.

53. This concept is the focal point, and title, of Philomena Essed's 1990 study, *Everyday Racism: Reports from Women of Two Cultures*. The author offers this valuable definition:

> Everyday racism includes the situations, attitudes, and customs that produce racial inequality in daily life. The concept of everyday racism therefore includes practices at both the institutional level and the individual level. Though the black woman's situation is far too complex to be explained only by the factor of racism, everyday processes that are experienced as racism form a central part of her life situation. I have tried to focus attention on the experienced reality, dwelling on the question of what everyday racism is without yet entering into a discussion of the

implications of this approach for *combating racism* [emphasis in the original]. That is a study in itself.... (p. 257)

54. Ibid., 35.

55. Amott and Matthaei, 1996, 13.

56. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 3-8.

57. Sharon Kurtz, *Workplace Justice*, 28.

58. Pat Robinson and Group, "Poor Black Women's Study Papers by Poor Black Women of Mount Vernon, New York," in *The Black Woman: An Anthology*, ed. Toni Cade, 1970, 189-197; M. Rivka Polatnick, "Poor Black Sisters Decided for Themselves: A Case Study of 1960s Women's Liberation Activism," in *Black Women in America*, ed. Kim Marie Vaz, 1995, 110-130; The Combahee River Collective, "A Black Feminist Statement," in *The Second Wave: A Reader in Feminist Theory*, ed. Linda Nicholson, 1997, 63-70.

59. Sharon Kurtz, *Workplace Justice*, 31.

60. Patricia Hill Collins, "Toward a New Vision: Race, Class, and Gender as Categories of Analysis and Connection," in *Social Class and Stratification: Classic Statements and Theoretical Debates*, ed. Rhonda F. Levine, 1998, 231-247. See also *Gathering Rage*, Margaret Randall's compelling critique of twentieth-century revolutions' persistent failures to address the need for feminist agendas. Randall's critique challenges scholars and activists alike to recognize the terrible weight exerted by patriarchal assumptions and ideas on contemporary capacities for radical theory and practice.

61. Aurora Levins Morales, *Medicine Stories: History, Culture and the Politics of Integrity,* 1998, 122.

62. Diana Tietjens Meyers, "Intersectional Identity and the Authentic Self? Opposites Attract!" in *Relational Autonomy: Feminist Perspectives on Autonomy, Agency, and the Social Self*, eds. Catriona Mackenzie and Natalie Stoljar, 2000, 156-157.

63. Tessie Liu, "Teaching the Differences Among Women from a Historical Perspective: Rethinking Race and Gender as Social *Categories," in Ruiz and DuBois,* 2000, 631.

64. Kurtz, *Workplace Justice*, 36-37.

65. *Race, Class, and Gender: An Anthology, Fifth Edition*, eds. Margaret L. Andersen and Patricia Hill Collins, 2004, 75.

66. Kurtz, *Workplace Justice.*

67. Reeve Vanneman and Lynn Weber Cannon, *The American Perception of Class,* 1987, especially chapter eight, "Docile Women? Pin Money, Homemaking, and Class Conflict," 181-197. While the work of Vanneman and Cannon has proven quite helpful in this researcher's efforts to navigate the minefields of U.S. social science theorizing on class; several other volumes have also proven very helpful. See also *Classes, Power, and Conflict: Classical and Contemporary Debates*, eds. Anthony Giddens and David Held, 1982; *Social Class and Stratification: Classical Statements and Theoretical Debates*, ed. Rhonda F. Levine, 1998; and *What's Class Got To Do with It? American Society in the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Michael Zweig, 2004.

68. Ibid., 181.

69. See Appendix A for specific comments regarding the presence or absence of unions in the subjects' workplaces, their views regarding unionism, their activism etc. Given the subjects' experiences with discrimination, the reader can readily understand why African-American women are among the most committed workers in the U.S. to unionization. See Michael Yates, *Why Unions Matter*, 1995.

70. Ibid., 182-183.

71. Ibid., 183.

72. Ibid., 182.

73. Robin D. G. Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class,* 1994, 5.

74. Ibid., 6.

75. Kurtz, 34-40.

76. Diana Tietjens Meyers, "Intersectional Identity and the Authentic Self? Opposites Attract!" in *Relational Autonomy: Feminist Perspectives on Autonomy, Agency, and the Social Self*, eds. Catriona Mackenzie and Natalie Stoljar, 2000, 159.

CHAPTER V

CONFLICTS AND STRATEGIES

The past three decades have witnessed the emergence of voluminous research that documents the interplay of race and gender in the lives of black working-class women.[1] More specifically, existing scholarship has clearly documented the fact that many U.S. workplaces are segregated "not only by sex, but also by race."[2] This expanding body of knowledge has continually revealed that African-American and Latina women are situated at the bottom of U.S. labor markets: earning the lowest wages, having the least degree of authority within workplaces, and enduring the greatest concentration within "bad jobs."[3] Despite the critical impact of the foregoing contributions; however, there is still much to be learned empirically about the specific ways in which race, gender, and class intersect as constructs (or principles of organization) within specific workplaces.[4] Moreover, for all that social scientists currently know regarding the impact of race in the lives of African-American women workers; scholars still have much to learn about the actual content of race and gender consciousness—the main ideas and guiding principles—among different groups of black working women,[5] and the specific tactics they use to survive and resist in their workplaces. This chapter examines the reports of case study subjects regarding their workplace conflicts and the array of strategies which subjects adopted. Given the current need for greater understanding about the mechanisms by which discriminations occur,[6] the investigation of subject strategies is

necessary because the subjects' responses to job-site conflicts can help to illuminate the specific ways in which work arrangements and pressures manifest workplace domination.[7] For political scientists, examination of workers' accounts also can aid in the development of policy and practical interventions against inequalities and discriminations.

This case study was begun with the expectations that, given the persistent inequities of race, class, and gender that structure U.S. workplaces, the study subjects would report strategies of survival and resistance[8] which indicate their agency, i.e. their capacity to think and act for themselves to make changes in their workplace situations on the basis of what they believe to be right and wrong, just and unjust, or good and evil.[9] This study was also initiated with the expectation that the strategies adopted by the subjects would reflect understandings of their workplace situations that were often dramatically different from those of workplace management and a number of their co-workers. These postulates seemed reasonable as points of departure inasmuch as social movement experience and social science research since the late 1960s have documented the validity of such assumptions in other U.S. settings.[10]

General Conflicts Experienced

Subject statements in this section shed considerable light on the inequitable, stressful and disempowering situations in which subjects regularly worked. Johnnie Andrews's experience with nepotism and racism reveal that workplace injustices do not disappear simply because workers have voted for a union:

> You know I probably would have been there a while longer, but I did not like my supervisor, because she was young. She came there after did.

> Years after I did and then...that was her daughter [she was] supervising and I knew that wasn't right; because they [management] always said two relatives couldn't work in the same department and she was supervisor to her daughter and letting her get away with murder, but I didn't know it and then when they came to me and told me about these things, I began to look at them and you could see what was going on.

Anna Dixon's experiences at Methodist seem to confirm what many scholars have noted regarding the adverse impact of race and gender biases in workplaces. Confronted with a white male supervisor, Ms. Dixon astutely decided on a means of addressing her situation:

> [W]hen I got promoted from the dish room to the set-up area (that was from dish room over to the kitchen part), I had a man supervisor at first and he was always saying that I wasn't doing my work correctly. And that he was going to send me back to the dish room because I looked like I was slow to learn, to catch on with the work. But after we had a conversation (me and this man supervisor—he was an Italian), I told him what I wanted him to know.
>
> He left me alone. And we got along. [W]e never did like each other, but he had no other choice but to respect me 'cause I respected him. And so we got along fine until I retired. I wanted him to know that he wasn't going to send me nowhere. He couldn't send me nowhere.

Edna Barden provided an account of ways in which nursing home management and supervisors at Wildwood tried to manipulate and control workers. Her account also revealed how at times some workers undermined their potential unity with co-workers. Edna's description of workplace problems shows that there were certain conflicts that could push even the most patient workers beyond self-restraint:

> Well, the conflicts and different things that I experienced, you know when you have a group of people...and they are practically on the same level and when it came time to give out raises, they[management] picked and chose on who should get and how much they should get and you know that caused conflict. And they would tell you, "Don't let anybody else see your check," you know, and might cause confusion at the time. And people will be mad at you...because you might have made a few pennies more

> than they did...And I didn't like that they were picking and choosing and paying people, because you still had those people there working..., so why punish them?
>
> [A]t first, it was always my supervisor that I had, that I told you was Afro-American. We would always get into it. You know, if I would say that I was sick, she would tell me, "You're not sick." And you know, with me, I would always say, "You're not me, so you wouldn't know how I feel. And you are not my doctor."
>
> If certain employees were doing something that they weren't supposed to do, I—since I had been promoted to the position of cook—would have to speak with them about it. And sometimes, they would try to provoke me, like when we thought we might have to strike. Then the supervisor would come up and try to meddle in our conversation. The supervisor was standing there with us, and this employee scratched my face, and when she done that, I just went crazy. One of the co-workers, but this was before the union really got strong.

Pat Thomas spoke about how she relied upon her union contract to deal with the racism she encountered from a white female supervisor while working as a transcriptionist:

> Well, I had one supervisor that, I don't know, she might not have liked me very well and she would go around and she would say little things to other employees, you know, concerning me. It was nothing but a bunch of lies because they could never catch me doing anything. Once she took something back to management, saying "Pat always takes Christmas as her holiday." But I felt like I got there before she got there, and I had the time in and my contract didn't stipulate any other way; so I always took Christmas as my vacation.

Wilma Autry described some of her earliest experiences with the biases and expectations of her white co-workers and supervisors at Methodist Hospital. Wilma's report emphasized the adverse effect of such expectations on her when she was learning her responsibilities as a unit secretary. Her account also indicates that in her position as unit secretary she managed to gain some support from certain white female co-workers:

> You know, I hate to say this, but at Southlake it was a better thing (I guess this is the way I see it) if the nurses approached a doctor than me going to him and asking. Okay, for me to walk up to a doctor..., it was like them saying, "Why are you questioning me?" But...I would just tell the nurse, "I cannot read this; you are going to have to ask the doctor or call the doctor to get a clarification." And the nurses would always tell me that if I couldn't get the clarification, or whatever, they would—they didn't have a problem with asking doctors or calling them.
>
> Unless I knew a specific doctor, you know, and, he/she knew me and they knew that I did the transcribing; I might you ask in that case. But there was only few doctors that I really felt comfortable asking.

Marion Epps spoke quite forcefully about the pressures of working as a unit secretary in an environment with unequal workloads and unequal standards of evaluation and remuneration:

> It's noticeable more to me, it's like...the nurses will ask you a question, you give them the answer...and then all of a sudden they go and ask another nurse. Well, then why did you come to me from the get go? Because in the long run, I'm the one that's right anyway and there's just so much responsibility placed on the secretary. And I don't think for what we do, we're not being paid...and that's really a disadvantage to me because I'm doing a lot. Not only am I doing the secretary's work, I'm doing the nurse's work because you're going through those charts and I have found mistakes that they make. They will put the wrong doctor's name on there, the wrong test, and I will go, "Are you sure this is right?" "Oh, no, that's the wrong patient." But if I had entered it, what would have happened? It would have fell back on my head or even they'll say, "Oh, I put this on the wrong patient, could you take it out? Could you take it out?" That's double work for me on something that they should have done right from the get go.

Bernita Drayton's intriguing story of her experience with racism and favoritism shows that sometimes being forceful can be a most effective strategy:

> When I was a CNA (and we did not have a union at that time), my director's name was Rosemary Gough. Rosemary Gough had a nursing assistant there at the time, her name was Pamela Land. Pamela Land was white. And Pam used to do things for Gough that, of course, I wasn't going to do. She cleaned her house on Saturdays and things such as that. So they showed favoritism towards her and (at) the times when the

> schedule would come up, it might be my weekend off and I'd go back to the schedule and...someone would say "Oh, you working this weekend?" And I'd say, "No, I'm off." They'd look at the schedule and say, "Bernita, you're working." While during that time, they would change the schedule and they didn't have to tell you anything, which, you know, could have resulted in my being terminated. But I had to go to Mrs. Gough and let her know that I do have a family and you can't just take my weekends, so I went in and told her that I wanted the next two weekends off and she gave me the next six because I told her that I'd never walked in anybody's shadow and wouldn't start today and if she and Pam wanted to do whatever, that was fine but not at my expense.

Priscella Wilson, a retired pharmacy technician, spoke at length about frustrating encounters during her years at Methodist, and her straight-forward and thoughtful approaches to handling such matters. Responding to an interview question about how she would rate her experiences with supervisors, Priscella responded with the following:

> I don't think it's been that good. Just the other day, to bring in a point...., I have a tear in my rotor cuff. I have been in therapy for about four months for this and my supervisor was sent a notice from my doctor saying that my job plans had been lifted from light duty to another portion and he was assuming that I could do the same job that I was doing prior to my therapy.
>
> Well, we talked about it and he told me that I was full of shit, excuse my French. But that's exactly what he told me. And I thought, I don't think he said that to me. And he's the Moroccan, so he's just as close to me, being a black person as he would be to a white person and he still told me this. I just felt that was totally, totally out of order. And he has not apologized and right now he is not talking to me too well, and I'm not talking to him at all....
>
> I had a boss before him, he just didn't understand...why I was so frustrated but it was the same continuous non-absorbing thought that they were having. With my mouth, with my way of telling people how I feel in a very professional way, I want to say and just let them know the truth about how a situation is. You know, you tell them something and they don't listen. I talked about what's best for the department, and I guess they were talking about what's best for management. Well, something's got to outweigh one. And when you have disgruntled and unhappy employees, I think you should try to learn their way to find out what the problem is

> because the problem very well could have been management, which I feel safe that it is now....
>
> When we deliver meds to the unit every day; we bring back many, many meds and that's something that I haven't understood in a while, either. Took it to my boss, had documentation, labels, everything that I needed to let him know that some of the nurses aren't giving this medication to the patients. We're bringing them back and still replacing meds. So, to this day (and I did this in March of this year), I've heard nothing about what they've done or tried to do to rectify the situation. I think that's something that should be looked at and they're not looking at that real hard. I mean...something is not right and the patients are not receiving the proper medication that they need to help them get well.
>
> Management seems to like animosity in the department. They feel that people could work better if they're not speaking to each other. But when we had that laughter going on and we had our music going on, that's when they came in and wanted to bother us. And that has really turned a lot of people's attitudes. So you do your job and I'll do my job. You got 8 hours and I've got 8 hours. I can't help it if you don't get yours done but if I get mine done, that's it.

Shirley Baldwin, a retired unit secretary, has also spoken of "problems" she confronted because she refused to be treated with disrespect, and she was not afraid to speak up for herself:

> Well, I had several conflicts with my directors. [W]ell, they would say that I had too much mouth. Because I just (laughs) disagreed with a lot of things that they would ask me to do—or not really ask me, but tell me to do. Because they had a way of not asking you, they would tell you to do so-in-so. And I refused to do that. So it kept me in trouble...
>
> Well, at first when I was a nursing assistant, I didn't really have many problems—but the workload was heavy. But, the times were good. I really enjoyed working, because it [Methodist] was a pleasant place to work at that time. That was in '76 and '77. When I started at the end of '77, when I started a unit secretary job, it was pleasant.. But in '78, '79, when the union came in, that is when most of our problems really started.

Theresa Brown spoke adamantly about the problems she and her co-workers faced at Wildwood Nursing home. She also pointed out the fact although workers made

an effort to get management to address safety problems, management failed to acknowledge the problems:

> The difference between Wildwood and St. Margaret's is that St. Margaret's had certain things but Wildwood didn't. At Wildwood, they had the wrong kind of gloves and they didn't tell you when they had AIDS patients, and they should have. That is the only time that we had an AIDS patient, and I didn't like that. And they didn't know how to treat people. I mean that management did not treat their workers very well. At one time, we had a big meeting with management and OSHA. Even the doctor from OSHA agreed that the gloves we used were not appropriate. Management didn't like that, and nothing changed.

Mildred Wallace reported on another aspect of the unfavorable treatment of health care personnel at Wildwood (now Clark Nursing Home and Rehabilitation Facility). In her account, Mildred spoke passionately about the work load and the arbitrariness with which she and her co-workers have had to contend; and the resolve with which she set about organizing her co-workers to join a union:

> Okay, they constantly want to add more responsibility to you. And when you don't have the proper time to do what you're suppose to do now? That was then, still is. Yeah. I wasn't having problems but there was so many good people that was fired. For no good reason. I knew when they was going to fire someone because the supervisor would say "Oh, So—and—So seems to have an attitude." Look out the next day, that person wasn't going to be there.
>
> They had started firing people in groups. You can work today, and when you go back tomorrow, you may find a whole group of new people. Those people were blackballed, and they couldn't even get unemployment. Some of them could never get back into the medical field. So my thing was, it's them today, it may be me tomorrow. So I wanted to end this.

The conflicts reported in this section offer some telling and disturbing insights into the kinds of pressures and problems faced by the study subjects in their environments of paid labor. The discussion that follows helps to provide some basic understanding

of both the problems experienced, and the contextual basis for the conflicts. The complete reports of study subjects may be seen in Appendix A.

In the first statement, Johnnie relates her experience with a white female supervisor in a department in which the supervisor's daughter was also working. Hospital management had always indicated that such a nepotistic situation was improper; yet the situation had gone on for some time. Apparently Johnnie had not been aware of the situation earlier on; but after co-workers had made her aware of the situation, she was better able to put into perspective certain instances in which the daughter had been allowed to "get away with murder." Gradually, as she stated, she could then understand "what was going on." What this researcher found most striking about Johnnie's comments was the strength of her objection to the existence of the workplace privilege this nepotism reflected. It seemed quite clear that her view of the unearned advantages taken by white female co-workers in this situation amounted to moral outrage. It is indeed disturbing that this situation was ongoing despite the presence of the union in the workplace. The overall situation, however; indicates that the presence of a union in a workplace is not a guarantee that appropriate rules of conduct will be adhered to by supervisors and employees. In fact, establishing a union is really only an initial step on a circuitous journey of workers to learn the necessary structures, procedures, and policies for building and consolidating that constellation of politicized relationships which political scientist Dorian Warren has termed "political capital."[11] In the absence of a union, even worse situations might have occurred. While her reflections alluded to some of the workplace tensions to which the nepotism contributed; Johnnie's

statement does not mention how the nepotistic situation was fully addressed. What becomes clear in the full interview, however; is that the supervisor was eventually fired in 2003 by the hospital in an effort to avoid a legal fight with the union and undue publicity.

Anna Dixon's statements provide eloquent witness to the kinds of unfair, and undemocratic, treatment that low-wage women workers of color often experience, especially in workplace environments where there are no unions.[12] The divide-and-conquer approach of her supervisor to maintaining control of the workers; the unfortunate collusion of some of her co-workers with this approach; the harassment Anna experienced from her white male supervisor; and the unfair and unfortunate denial of liveable wages to Anna (and presumably others) for several years are all features of worker domination that have been documented in workplaces without unions.[13] While Anna seemed to express little or no rancor about the unfairness that she had experienced, she nonetheless recognized the unfairness of the supervisor as well as the divisive and hurtful manner in which some of her co-workers had "gone along" with "the system."

Edna Barden's comments shed light on the problem of favoritism in her workplace and the corrosive effects it had on worker-to-worker relationships. In her workplace, management's approach of "playing favorites" and encouraging workers to be secretive about their wages and increases proved to be an effective means of controlling workers and undermining their workplace solidarity. It is not at all surprising that in such an environment, worker-to-worker animosities might develop and build until they erupted

into a violent clash such as the one Edna describes. Here again, this array of management weapons proved even more effective in an environment in which there was no union, i.e., no transparent and regularized procedures and policies to which workers had input. Moreover, the non-union environment in which Edna was working at the time was one in which one of her immediate supervisors could arbitrarily decide when to allow Edna time off due to illness. The subjective, arbitrary, and unfair nature of such a "process" for addressing the workplace needs of adults was rivaled only by the "behind-the-back" nature of the "evaluations" of Edna's work provided for management by her black female supervisor.

Pat Thomas's statement reinforces the importance of having a union and a union contract within her hospital workplace. While she could do very little to stem the flow of derogatory comments made about her by one of her supervisors; Pat made effective use of the contractual agreement between the union and hospital management to defend herself against any adverse effects on her rights to take her vacation when she wanted it. In a non-union worksite without a union contract, Pat would have had no means of defending herself.

Wilma Autry's reflections highlight the problem of having to work in an environment in which her duties were essential (to the delivery of timely and appropriate care), yet her efforts to perform her job in a responsible manner (by getting clarifications regarding doctors' orders) were often viewed as unnecessary and/or presumptuous. The elitism—indeed, the racism and sexism—so ingrained in the institutionalized relations of contemporary health care hierarchies[14] often resulted in white nurses and doctors feeling

"put upon" by a black subordinate who seemed to be questioning their professional judgment or their notations on patient care. Moreover, those professionals who saw Wilma's questions as presumptuous should have recognized that Wilma was not only demonstrating a very professional commitment to patient welfare; but her inquiries also functioned as a preventive measure against dangerous, costly and embarrassing errors.

The conflicts reported by Mrs. Epps and Ms. Drayton underscore the particular kinds of everyday problems and stresses experienced by black women who work as unit secretaries at one of the campuses of Methodist Hospital. Experiences summarized by Marion and Bernita seem somewhat similar to some of those related by Wilma Autry, in that they show how the behaviors of white nurses often seem to reflect their concerns and/or assumptions that black unit secretaries are less qualified or competent to perform the many tasks entrusted to them. Marion and Bernita have also commented about the apparent double standards applied in nurses' evaluations of their work. Coupled with the pressures for unit secretaries to undertake an increasing number of responsibilities and to respond to all requests for assistance from nurses, doctors, and other co-workers on their respective units; both women have often felt "overwhelmed" by the tasks of their jobs. The pressure of increasing demands is not only a matter of concern for unit secretaries, but is also at the heart of the "staffing" problems about which nurses and other health care professionals have recently been voicing dissatisfaction across the U.S. The reflections regarding supervisor favoritism and co-worker collusion are clear evidence of the ongoing challenges that face workers in health care.

Priscella Wilson's reporting on conflicts echoes the problems of hospital staffing and supervisory personnel adopting unreasonable approaches to daily relations with workers. As study subjects and union representatives have noted in numerous conversations, hospital management has for some time been increasingly "hard-line" in addressing matters of employee-employer relations. Since around the late 1970s, management has seemed extraordinarily focused on the necessity for maintaining strict control over employees—at times acting in extremely paternalistic ways; even treating workers like children. Even when workers have had "legitimate" concerns and needs, supervisory personnel have tended to remain unyielding and disrespectful in situations in which more moderate approaches could have proven more productive. Although Priscella was no longer a union member at the time of her interview (she had to leave the bargaining union when she became a pharmacy technician[15]); she joined other study subjects in confirming that Methodist Hospital management has adopted a "hard-line" approach with workers not only to intimidate and control workers, but also to create a superabundance of conflicts that would lead to grievances being filed with the union. The objective of creating innumerable conflicts—and thus grievances—is shrewd in its simplicity: create a conflictual environment in which the union is made to appear ineffective and/or provocative, and eventually workers themselves will choose "to break" the union. Whether workers feel the union, as their institution, cannot address the number of day-to-day conflicts; or whether the workers begin to see union activism as "making the workplace" more conflictual, the result can be the same: reduced faith in unionism and the buttressing of more individualistic tendencies "to go along to get

along."[16] Once workers can be maneuvered into this kind of thinking, they will be much less inclined to pay union dues for "services" they feel they are not getting.

Shirley Baldwin's comments echo the problems noted by other subjects with supervisory personnel who have been intent upon controlling "their" workers. In Shirley's case, supervisors often told her that she had "too much mouth" when she disagreed with their demands that she perform certain tasks. Shirley took pains to clarify the fact that she was altogether willing to do her share of the work on her shifts; yet she consistently refused to be disrespected. When supervisors *asked* her to perform certain tasks, there were seldom any problems. Yet when supervisors *told* her what she was to do, Shirley resisted. Shirley underscored a point made by several other subjects: that during the late 1970s, after the establishment of the union, hospital management began to become even more unreasonable and authoritarian than it had been before. Shirley's statement also made reference to the importance of the union in helping to change the workplace emphasis on "merit"—which Shirley's comments redefine as essentially a matter of favoritism.

Theresa Brown reflected upon a recurring source of conflict during her years of working at Wildwood Nursing Home. Contrasting her experiences at her previous workplace, St. Margaret's, with those at Wildwood; Theresa was quite critical of management at Wildwood for not providing workers with certain types of equipment that were necessary in caring for patients and clients. Theresa noted how an angry exchange had taken place in a worksite meeting with representatives from the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (OSHA), when a physician from OSHA agreed with workers

that a sturdier type of glove was necessary to protect workers when dealing with patients with diseases such as AIDS. Despite the workers' concerns and the doctor's professional opinion, management made no changes, and continued to provide gloves that were inadequate to the tasks performed by workers. Although the workplace had a union when Theresa hired in, the workers' understanding

of unionism and their daily emphasis on solidarity were not very well developed. Here again, we can see that the presence of a union in a workplace is neither a guarantee that workers will automatically get needed equipment, nor that they will automatically have a safe environment in which to perform their duties. They will have to fight to make the union and the workplace what they should be.

Mildred Wallace's account reveals how she was spurred into action to help establish a union at Wildwood several years prior to Theresa's arrival. Mildred was very disturbed by the extremely arbitrary and unfair manner in which a number of her co-workers were being fired by supervisory personnel. Mildred was further dismayed by the fact that the firings often resulted in workers being "blackballed" from working in other health care facilities. These unfair firings also resulted in a much heavier workload for those workers who remained at the worksite. Mildred decided that since she believed these firings were unjust, and since she knew that if she did nothing, she too might fall victim to this unjust system; she would have to help create a fairer system under which she and her co-workers could earn their livings.

Strategies for Resistance and Survival: Workers' Survival Projects

In this section of the chapter we shall consider various accounts of study subjects regarding specific individual and collective strategies they adopted in their respective workplaces and households. The concept of "survival and resistance strategies," is used here to refer to those activities and relationships to which members of oppressed social and political groups commit themselves in order to endure, withstand, and transform the conditions of their lives. Grounded and built upon the work of such feminist scholars as Patricia Hill Collins ("black women's activism,")[17] Robin Kelley ("infrapolitics,"),[18] Cathy Cohen ("marginalization")[19] and Johanna Brenner ("survival projects,");[20] the concept was initially chosen because of this researcher's awareness that political scientists and social change activists need more nuanced and comprehensive understandings of how members of oppressed social groups learn to use their own power resources to meet the constraining and denigrating circumstances of their daily lives.[21] Scholars also need a deeper understanding of the links between the hour-by-hour, day-by-day strategies used by black working-class women and the social-change movements which they have so often helped to build in their communities and workplaces. Such knowledge of the varied ways in which subordinated group members address oppressive conditions is still necessary today because without learning to effectively deal with persistent inequalities, members of oppressed groups obviously cannot survive.[22] Such knowledge is also necessary because, by learning how workers withstand domination in their workplaces, we can better understand the specific mechanisms by which such domination is exercised.[23] In her recognition of the inability of oppressed groups to

contend with unjust conditions unless they survive; Collins does not assume (nor should we) that physical survival is always distinct from political actions to bring about some sort of change in existing power relations. As a number of subject accounts in this research project will show, sometimes survival itself is resistance.[24] Commenting on the life of Sara Brooks, an African-American woman who labored as a domestic worker for many years, Patricia Hill Collins asserts that for Ms. Brooks, "...survival [was] a form of resistance, and her struggles to provide for the survival of her children [represented] the foundations of black women's activism."[25] Notwithstanding widespread notions of Black political activism which "fail to see how struggles for group survival are just as important as confrontations with institutional power;"[26] if scholarly efforts are not grounded in the lived experiences and understandings of black (women) workers, social scientists may easily overlook a critical fact of contemporary U.S. life: workers' labors to ensure the survival of themselves, their families, and their communities are not "less important" than overt acts of contention, but are also political in nature; that is, they have an undeniable political aspect themselves. First, these labors are carried out within established relations and arrangements of power. Second, these productive and reproductive tasks help to maintain and reproduce existing relations and arrangements of power that inevitably continue to foster resistance. Third, such activities often serve as the basis for adjustments, or incremental alterations, in those arrangements and relations. And finally, at times, they help to transform those prevailing power dynamics. This is undoubtedly why Collins, Kelley, Cohen, and Brenner all challenge us to explore those activities in the shadows that we often fail to recognize because they are not normally

defined as "political," "organized," and "mainstream." Indeed, while it has become quite common for contemporary political theorists to acknowledge that organized social struggles have contributed enormously to the advancement of participatory democracy[27] and social equality; many (if not most) inhabitants of oppressive societies live much of their lives in the background of organizing movements.[28] What, and where, are the labors—both unpaid and paid—that lay around us like the kindling needed to ignite radical movement(s) for change? What, and where are the moment-by-moment activities and relationships from which powerful social movements might be built to change political subjectivities, group interrelationships, and tactical terrain[29] in this country? As the eminent social scholar, George Lipsitz, has noted, "Our problem is that we don't know enough—enough about how egalitarian social change takes place, about how social movements start and how they succeed, about how people find the will to struggle and the way to win when they are facing forces far more powerful than themselves."[30]

The capacities for politicized and organized movements must eventually be built upon the kinds of actions and ideas that are reflected in the accounts that follow. These accounts have been sorted into three basic types of strategies: personal strategies adopted in workplaces prior to the existence of a union; collective strategies adopted prior to the existence of a union; and personal and collective strategies in which workers engaged after a union was established.

Personal Strategies Prior to Unionization

Johnnie Andrews gives a rather stirring description of specific encounters she had with workplace problems. Her witty approach to problem-solving was not only humorous, but apparently quite effective.

> You know, I had one supervisor on the floor that did not call herself prejudiced, but she was. To me she was because when she first took over that floor, she said, "You will be off every third week-end." So the third week-end bypassed and I was not off.
>
> Three week-ends bypassed and I was not off. Then five bypassed and I knew I would not be off. Six week-ends passed and I wasn't off so I told her I wanted to talk to her and she looked at me very strange and she said, 'Okay.' We went into the conference room and I said, 'Lottie has been off and you think she is white. She is not white; she is black like I am. But you can tell I am black because of my complexion. Why haven't I've been off? Because you think I'm a good nigga. But I am not. I am not that good nigga.' She said, "Oh, Johnnie, please don't say that, please don't say that. You will be off *next* week-end. Next week-end I was off, so that was that.

When asked whether a union existed at Methodist Hospital at the time of her problems with her supervisor, Johnnie responded with the following:

> No, it was not. There was flyers put in and I was the one that put the flyers in everybody's lockers mentioning a union. That went over not good at all because you could hear them whispering, 'We don't want a new union. We don't want no union. They tried to get a union once before and everybody got fired. We don't want a union.' Okay, that died away. So Marion Epps came to me one day and said, 'Johnnie if we get a union will you participate in it?' I said, 'Yes, it will be good if we got a union.' Rev. Chrispell [a co-worker] came to me and he said, 'Johnnie you don't need a union because it is not what you think it is. A union is not what you think it is. Believe you me.' I said, 'Okay,' just like that. But I went with the union.

Johnnie's conscious adoption of a certain demeanor apparently served her well as a strategy for surviving at least some of the discriminatory behaviors that characterized her workplace, as the following description shows:

> Oh, when I went to x-ray, my girl friend was the one who got me that job down there on transportation and she told my supervisor I could be intelligent when I want to and all my supervisor did was laugh. One of them said, 'Come here, Ms. Intelligent-When-You-Want-To-Be.' And that is all she ever called me...And I said, 'That is right, when *I want to be* I am; but when you push *the wrong button* I am not intelligent. I lose all of that.' She said, 'Okay, I believe you.' And that was it for that...I carried myself in a very articulate way that they knew not to bother me. Now they bothered everybody all around me. They would call them in the office and talk to them, but when they wanted to talk to me they said, 'Johnnie can I come in the dark room and talk to you?' And I said, 'About what?' I did not say yes and I did not say no I said about what? 'Oh, I just wanted to ask you such in such.' And I said, 'Sure, you could ask me whatever you want to ask me.' And that is the way that went.

Lynette Smith described her participation in the establishment of a union in her workplace as the strategy she felt would be most effective in helping her, and her co-workers to survive and stop certain injustices:

> Well, I became a member in 1977, when the union came in xistence...1199 Health Care Union. It was before '77 because I helped organize the union into existence. [W]e got other co-workers to sign union cards. We passed leaflets in front of the hospital. [W]e went to meetings and done demonstrations at the hospital.

Lynette was careful to note that prior to the establishment of a union, there were often times when workers actually had little recourse but to accommodate unjust treatment in the workplace:

> Well, it wasn't too much that you could do, because you could get wrote up if you went out and tried to demonstrate. But we did give problems to the supervisor when they would require you to do something that wasn't in the job description.

Having already shared some of her most stressful experiences with hospital injustices, Wilma also spoke proudly about her initiatives to establish a union:

> I became a member of the union when we won our victory, I would say; because I had signed the membership card before the union was voted in at Methodist. I think that was like 1976 I want to say...Before the union

> got in at Methodist... We would get up in the morning and pass literature at both campuses sometimes. We would start at one and pass it out (for maybe an hour, twenty or thirty minutes); and leave that one and go to our campus (at that time I think I was out to Southlake). Yeah, this was before we would go to work....We talked union to other folks... I had a aunt and she was in the laundry department. I had even asked my dad to talk to her about signing cards because *her* dad was one that got fired before when Methodist workers had tried to bring the union in... Yeah, *I did a lot of talking* trying to get people to a go with us to get this union in. [emphasis in the original]

Shirley Baldwin provided some very thought-provoking reflections on her strategies (as a single parent) for dealing with the demands of both paid and unpaid labor:

> [W]e had, on an average, six, seven, or eight patients a day for one person...And I felt that *that* was heavy. That is why I stayed in trouble all of the time (laughs). I stayed in trouble *all* the time, because I would ask for help.
>
> Well, when I was a nurse's aide, my children were small. Well, they were teenagers. '76 and '77. Well, as little children, I mean they were like five and six. They had their duties. One would wash dishes one week, and one would wash dishes the next week....I decided what would be done... And then they would have a week with bathrooms. They knew, they could vacuum and stuff like that, because I was the breadwinner and I used to tell them, 'This is what we have to do.' And it was their duties to make sure certain things were done. I found out later that my son (when he got to be like eleven years old) would sometimes pay my daughter to wash dishes, because he said that that was a girl's job. So he would pay her to wash dishes and then he would do all of the mopping and the bathroom work... So I didn't mind. They could straighten it out between themselves, as long as it got done...I did all the washing and the hard cleaning....[B]y me being absent from the house, I didn't want them using the stove... I would cook at the end of the week, and we would have that for the rest of the week (laughs)....
>
> Sometimes the responsibilities at the hospital kept me at work longer than I should have been there. And when I did get home, sometimes I was too tired to even fix the kids' food, and put it on the table for them... But I had to manage to do that. I had to work it out...Sometimes, yes; I felt that I was short-changing my children... But I would sit down and talk to them, and I had them to understand that momma's got to go do this. So we are in this together, so they had to help me to help them, and they kind of understood. I guess they understood. I felt that they understood... So

> they would tell me, 'Mommy we understand. Go do your job and we are going to do the jobs here.' That is when they got older... So we worked it out.

Edna Barden reported on her own efforts to make co-workers aware of unsafe working conditions a Wildwood:

> I know that the room where they washed dishes was too small and as I progressed up the ladder and learned the different skills, you could see that what you were being put in was not right because of the heat. And what they would use to wrap the pipes...something like asbestos. I don't know if they knew but, you know, that was a danger to...people's health...And I would often, after I moved up and out of that area, keep complaining, complaining to the girls about 'How could you work in this steam and heat like this?'
>
> Well, most of the time, if I saw something that was bad, and I didn't like it, I would speak up about it....and it might cause a fight or something, because I did have a fight there once, you know, and they could have fired me but they didn't...I would always go to the supervisor and bring things to her attention. And ask her to talk to this person.

Theresa Brown spoke of her participation in a group effort by workers to address the problem of unsafe gloves. When Wildwood's management refused to acknowledge the problem, Theresa handled the matter in her own way:

> I liked working at St. Margaret's; I'm not going to lie. We had better gloves; we had better stuff to work with for *our* safety. We had isolations and everything. Working with people just to wash them up, we just had regular dyeing gloves. At Wildwood, they had the wrong kind of gloves and they didn't tell you when they had AIDS and *they should have*. That is the only time that we had an AIDS patient, and I didn't like that. And they didn't know how to treat people. I mean that *management did not treat their workers very well.* At one time, we had a big meeting with management and OSHA. Even the doctor from OSHA agreed that the gloves we used were not appropriate. Management didn't like that, and nothing changed. [*I decided to get my own gloves after that];* out of my money, what I got paid with, so that I could have better gloves. [And then I decided to buy perfume and everything for the residents, because you don't want them smelling.]

> We did what we could to help, since some families cared and some didn't. For example, you had to worry about the diapers for patients. Cloth diapers aren't good enough, because you have to lift heavy people, put them back in the bed, and change them. That is a little rough when you don't have pampers. You can stand them up the best you can to get the pamper off; but if you got a wet diaper, you are going to have everything else wet. Wildwood management didn't have enough rubber sheets or anything. You had to deal with the "chucks." [Note: "Chucks" are large, flat, sheet-like coverings that are placed under a body wound or opening that is draining]. At Wildwood, we didn't have chucks—even though *we should have*—so you had to deal with not having what you needed. At St. Margaret's we had them. [emphasis in the original]

Charlotte Brown helped this interviewer to gain a deeper understanding of how black women workers demonstrated their regard not only for the nursing home patients, but one another as well. Her account also revealed a very interesting approach that she and her husband took toward household duties:

> Before we established the union, we would always look out for one another. For instance, if someone would oversleep, one of us would punch her time-card so she wouldn't get into trouble. Or, if someone reported off, we would call someone to make sure that shift was covered. In that instance, one of us would volunteer to work over so that all of the work was covered. [S]ometimes I was required to do stuff that wasn't on the job description. Some of those duties was, you know like, if the cook was short, help the cook… And that wasn't my job. And I didn't mind doing that at that time.

When a question was posed about how she and her husband handled household tasks with each of them working outside the home, Charlotte noted that: "We did it together...we always have worked together. Yes, we both cooked. We both cleaned."

Reflecting further on the confrontation she had reported with a white supervisor, Bernita Drayton acknowledged that she had not quickly made her decision to confront Mrs. Gough. She had tried other measures first:

> Sometimes I would talk to other people who would advise me on what to do. Sometimes you were just a little quiet and you were careful in what

> you said. And I think the biggest thing that I did was I told her when I had a confrontation with her, consider today my two week's notice...if you can't give me what I'm asking for. [A]nd I walked out of her office.

The foregoing accounts illuminate a number of issues which relate to the capacities of working-class women to think and act as moral and political agents; as actors who can think and act independently in accordance with their own judgments regarding what is right and wrong, worthy and unworthy, just and unjust. The accounts also help us better understand how these political actors think and act in relatively autonomous[31] ways in accordance with their understandings of the power relations in their workplaces.

One of the strategies that becomes immediately evident from the subjects' accounts is speaking up on one's behalf. Although this might seem an innocuous gesture, in a workplace structured somewhat similar to a plantation, without the relative protection of a union or some other established means of addressing perceived inequities on a daily basis; "speaking up" could be a very risky course of action. Still, most subjects indicated that if they had not spoken up for themselves, they would have been without any voice whatsoever. They would then have been defenseless amidst the unjust power relations that were characteristic features of their workplaces. Yet speaking up for oneself was never a simple matter of "telling off" one's superiors, or even one's co-workers. As the subjects' accounts indicate, the subjects had to be mindful of finding ways to "speak up" that enabled them to clearly challenge the inequities they were experiencing without placing themselves in any further jeopardy. Such action(s) required the workers to know the people and the conditions of their workplaces, and to craft their strategies in accordance with the specific problems that the individual workers were

trying to solve within a specific set of circumstances. Finally, the actions had to be deftly carried out so that the seriousness of workers' concerns were made apparent to those involved without the worker(s) being defined as insubordinate and/or impudent.[32]

A second strategy employed by several workers was agitating amongst co-workers to make the case for establishing a union in their workplaces. A different and (from an employer's standpoint) more troublesome form of "speaking up," this strategy was also not without risks for employees; and each worker had to be careful about how, when, and where she talked with other workers about unionization. By their own accounts, then, the subjects clearly demonstrated their capacities to recognize unjust conditions; to decide upon an effective strategy for dealing with the conditions; to weigh the potential risks and benefits of the strategy; and to act judiciously, yet decisively, in accordance with their judgment(s). Although Western political theorists and contemporary policy analysts have often defined (black) women as either incapable of reason or capable of only an inferior type of reasoning;[33] the subjects' strategy of helping to establish a union in their workplaces was quite reasonable, and challenges political science scholars to rethink the political implications of persistent notions of gender, reason and emotion.

Johnnie Andrews's account of her confrontation with a white female supervisor provides an audacious, intriguing, and somewhat humorous demonstration of agency. By boldly insisting on a meeting with the supervisor in a conference room (reversing the usual dominant and subordinate power relationship), to inquire about why she had not gotten any weekends off (as the supervisor had promised); Ms. Andrews did several

things. First, she challenged what she believed to be the racism of the supervisor. Having observed and evaluated the supervisor's words and actions for some time; Johnnie had concluded that she was experiencing discrimination, and that the discriminatory behavior was racist. Second, she positioned herself (and not the white female supervisor) as the authoritative voice, and demanded that the supervisor's discriminatory behavior toward her be stopped. Johnnie's indictment of the supervisor not only defined her as racist—and therefore, both morally and (probably) legally wrong—but she also rejected the notion that there was anything desirable about being "a good nigga." Third, by rejecting as illegitimate the pejorative stereotypes of "the good nigga" and "the mammy," so closely associated with it; Ms. Andrews inferred that under certain conditions she might well become that "bad nigga" (or "Sapphire") so often feared by many white Americans—and even some black Americans—as a threat to the normalcy of white domination.[34] Such a forceful rejection of controlling images so central to the continuing economic and political domination of African-Americans is especially powerful in a health care workplace, in which the duties and deference expected of most black women are reminiscent of black women's duties during slavery.[35] With her refusal to accept the roles of "good nigga" and "mammy," Ms. Andrews put her supervisor on notice that she would not allow herself to be discriminated against, and that if she was, there would probably be some further unpleasantness in the workplace.

The encounter between Johnnie Andrews and her supervisor highlights the self-valuation, self-definition, self-reliance, and self-determination which have been recurring and characteristic features of black women's struggles against the structures and

processes of oppression, as well as the controlling images by which such domination has been justified. Such resistance-in-order-to-survive is certainly not biological or genetic. Rather, it is the historical legacy of struggles passed on through generations, and given new forms as succeeding generations of black women respond to persistent inequities comprising black oppression in the United States. As Collins has observed, "...despite the pervasiveness of controlling images, African-American women as a group have resisted these ideological justifications for our oppression."[36] These features of black working-class women's struggles indicate a potentially powerful resource for current and future struggles against injustice.[37]

Lynette Smith's account emphasizes both the insecure position in which study subjects found themselves in workplaces without unions; and the intelligence, courage, and resourcefulness of those workers who eventually decided to help establish a union. Lynette acknowledges that in a work environment where workers had to confront injustices without union protections; at times, "it wasn't much you could do, because you could get wrote up if you went out and tried to demonstrate." Yet despite the constraints and the stresses, she and other co-workers still went to supervisors and "spoke up" regarding problems. Recognizing that "speaking up" to individual supervisors would help them only to a limited degree, Lynette and others made the decision to work to establish a local of the 1199 Health Care Union. This overall strategy of resistance *and* survival had a number of components: leafleting co-workers outside the hospital, as they entered and exited; attending meetings for education and training on how to organize co-workers and how to confront management; and conducting strategic demonstrations at

the hospital, which were at times directed to the public. None of these activities were without risk. Yet as accounts have already shown, workers' strategies could not be defined simply on the basis of convenience and safety; strategies had to be adopted on the basis of their efficacy and their capacity for drawing other workers into collective action.

Wilma Autry's account of her confrontation with a white female supervisor is yet another revealing report that reminds us of what African-American feminist Mae Henderson has said about the historical and contemporary efforts to deny black women's voices: "It is not that black women...have had nothing to say, but rather that they have had no say."[38] Ms. Autry's experience shows the patent disregard of black women workers in a number of health care workplaces in which they are viewed as deficient and/or less competent than their white co-workers. Black women like Wilma Autry must insist on having their own say, and being heard, because even when they show themselves to be quite capable—as is often the case—they are still *black women.*

Wilma's strategy of securing clarifications for illegible doctors' orders through sympathetic nurses was another resourceful means by which she gained necessary information while evading the devaluations of some physicians as "incompetent" or "getting out of her place." The class, race, and gender hierarchies typically embedded within the bureaucratic structures, job definitions, and administrative policies of health care institutions placed Wilma in a precarious position. On one hand, as an African-American woman working as a unit secretary (a job category formerly held by mostly white women), she was expected to transcribe doctors' notes regarding patient care. This job carried enormous responsibility for insuring that orders were conscientiously and

consistently transcribed in a timely manner. Yet on the other hand, to obtain a clear understanding of what doctors sometimes intended meant that Wilma might have to subject herself to the derisive and accusatory attitudes and comments of white doctors who did not like being asked about their illegible notes by a less educated black woman. Wilma's strategy, though apparently simple, proved effective; and (as she indicates in her account) it enabled her to survive in a very stressful job until she learned how to decipher the handwriting of certain doctors and gained the respect of those with whom she worked.

The narrative of Ms. Shirley Baldwin echoes the importance of workers adopting strategies of "speaking up" and demanding respect from superiors in the workplace. Shirley's concerns about the need for gloves (when handling patients), and the optimum number of assigned patients (whose needs a nurse's assistant could reasonably be expected to meet) were very important matters to be addressed in her efforts to deliver quality health care. Yet without her intervention to persistently raise these issues, her daily tasks as a nurse's assistant would have become more unsafe and more unmanageable.

Her account also sheds light on strategies used to help balance the reproductive responsibilities of family life with the responsibilities of paid labor. In her experiences, Shirley found that (1) training her young children to be responsible for specific household duties; (2) preparing enough food to cover meals for an entire week; and (3) networking with immediate and extended family members were all crucial components of balancing the duties of household and the hospital. Shirley emphasized the importance of her

efforts to be as organized as possible, at the hospital and within her household, in order to insure that she could complete necessary tasks and to instill a sense of organization and duty within her children. The role played by her sister (whom she asked to regularly check on the children), as well as other family members (who went to her home and cared for the children when Shirley was snowed in at the hospital), echoes the accounts of numerous feminist scholars regarding the conscientious planning and networking activities between black working-class women and their real and fictive kin to accomplish their paid and unpaid labors.[39]

Shirley Baldwin's adoption of a multi-pronged strategy to help establish the 1199 Health Care Union at Methodist Hospital underscores the feelings she shared with other co-workers regarding the disrespect and low wages to which they were being subjected in the absence of a union. Like other subjects with somewhat similar accounts, Shirley understood that talking with co-workers about the importance of the union and encouraging them to make the commitment to build the union were risky activities. Yet given the available choices, she had little trouble deciding what was right. As she states in her interview, "Well, we were trying to achieve fairness....We didn't have no training at all, but at that time everybody was so tired of the way we were being treated that they signed the card. And they all wanted a union. Most of the African American people, and some whites saw the importance of the union, since their parents were union. So a lot of them were glad to sign cards."

Edna Barden's description sheds light on her own particular approach to "speaking up." In addition to bringing problems to the attention of a supervisor; once

she was aware of certain unsafe and/or undesirable workplace conditions, Edna would regularly complain about the conditions with her co-workers. As she points out in her account, "I don't know if they knew but, you know, that was a danger to them, to people's health... And I would often, after I moved up and out of that area, keep complaining, complaining to the girls about 'How could you work in this steam and heat like this?'" A particularly compelling aspect of Edna's strategy was the fact that by the time she became aware of the unsafe conditions about which she complained to co-workers, she had already left the department. She might easily have simply breathed a sigh of relief, since *she* was no longer in harm's way. But instead, she returned to the department where she had worked and tried to make other workers aware of the unsafe conditions in which they were now working. Using this workplace vignette as a lens, we can gain some insight into Edna's moral reasoning, as well as the value of Nancy Hartsock's critique of Western political and economic theories which posit the human (male) actor as one who seeks only to maximize (his) individual interests. Such theorizations are indeed partial and perverse, according to Hartsock, since their assumptions regarding power and agency reflect the profit-driven logic of capitalist exchange relations, in which, "The sale and purchase of labor power from the perspective of capital...is a relation of equality."[40] Analyses and political tactics based on such assumptions often obscure the real thoughts—as well as the moral sensibilities—of political actors who are also workers.

Edna's description of her confrontation with her supervisor provides another instructive example of the self-definition and self-determination which have continuously

emerged as elements of black women's pursuits of justice. Despite her supervisor's racial-ethnic classification, her education, her workplace rank, and her presumptive airs of authority; Edna refused to be intimidated. This stance was, of course, risky; yet here again, we see a worker who assessed her situation and made a decision to act in her own behalf. In time, Edna found that she was successful, since her supervisor, "...soon let up on me."

Edna's activities with her co-workers to build the union at Wildwood Nursing Home (1199 Health Care Union) reveal not only her careful, patient attention to explaining to younger co-workers the need for union protections; but also her diligence in encouraging her co-workers to know, and defend, their rights. When she encountered the fears and resistance that are among the most difficult impediments to unionization, Edna was honest-yet-empathetic:

> Oh, if a person was frightful or didn't really understand what we were doing, you would let them know and try to encourage them to don't be afraid....You know, you're only fighting for your right, but you have a *right* to do this and as long as it's legal, no one can do anything to you. So I would talk to different employees that I knew wouldn't stand up for themselves, and talk to the younger generation because I was an older woman. And I would tell them, "Don't give in to everything a person says to you when you know it's not right.

Through her painstaking efforts—going to meetings for training, passing our leaflets and buttons, putting information on bulletin boards and in break areas, and mobilizing other workers to meet at the 1199 office to discuss problems and plans with union representatives—Edna evolved as one of the key workplace organizers for the union. She was an inspiration to all of her co-workers, and would prove a tower of strength during the difficult days that would come after the establishment of the union.

Theresa Brown's description of her experiences and strategies at Wildwood shows the necessity, an the benefits, of being self-reliant in a difficult workplace environment. One way in which Theresa sought to address her very poor wages was to work multiple shifts. Admittedly, this is a strategy that sometimes can undermine the development of a sense of solidarity and collective approaches to workplace problems.[41] Yet in Ms. Theresa Brown's case, this strategy enabled a single mother to better care for herself and her children. Theresa's sense of self-reliance also prompted her to buy certain needed equipment (e.g., sturdy gloves, soaps, lotions, and deodorants) that was provided inconsistently by the nursing home owners—or not at all. In Theresa's account she says that she purchased these items in order to insure that she could give her assigned patients the care that they deserved. By considering Theresa's moral reasoning we can see the utility of feminist theorizations regarding "care-based moral agency" in which a woman "embedded in a web of relationships...construes moral choice in terms of the question of how to respond to others in a way that avoids harm and maintains relationships...."[42] Theresa's strategy to solve a problem (which management should have addressed) actually helped her as well as her patients; if her patients were not properly cared for, her job might have been in jeopardy. Moreover, as Theresa notes in her interview, the gloves she eventually purchased served as a safety measure for her when she had to work with patients with highly communicable diseases such as AIDS. It must also be noted that by personally maintaining a high standard of care for her patients, Theresa won the gratitude and good-will of her patients' family members. Although

Theresa may not have considered this good-will as a potential resource for future struggles between workers and the management of Wildwood; time would tell.

Mrs. Charlotte Brown's reporting of her experiences reveals the potential political significance of the personal strategies she and her co-workers adopted prior to the establishment of the 1199 Health Care Union. As Charlotte notes:

> Before we established the union, we would always look out for one another. For instance, if someone would oversleep, one of us would punch her time-card so she wouldn't get into trouble. Or, if someone reported off, we would call someone to make sure that shift was covered. In that instance, one of us would volunteer to work over so that all of the work was covered."

While it is evident that such activities reflected the care and concern that Charlotte and her co-workers felt for one another—and for their patients; it is important that we do not lose sight of the oppositional significance of these acts. Within a non-union, service work environment such as the one described by Charlotte and other study subjects, workers not only bonded for a range of personal reasons. They also bonded within a context in which they were similarly positioned in unequal power relationships with the nursing home management and owners. The strategies that Charlotte and others adopted to "look out for one another," then, were the most immediate means by which they could create greater flexibility, or latitude, for themselves within the existing constraints of management policies and practices. The strategies had both a relational and a political aspect. Moreover, the workers' adoption of the above strategies prior to the establishment of the union suggests the utility of Dorian Warren's concept of "political capital" for understanding how workers can create the will and seize the opportunities for altering power relations within a workplace. Developing a skeleton of politicized

relationships so that workers can join in the fight against workplace injustices[43] is possible when personal relationships are built between workers. Of course, personal relationships are often established with little conscious thought for their potential, or eventual, political significance. Yet when workers can see that they are operating within an inherently political environment (i.e., one in which different actors wield unequal power), they can learn to infuse their daily interactions with their evolving understandings of power. Without personal relationships, initiatives for changes in the existing relations of power have little chance for success. When such relationships exist, however (as they obviously did at Wildwood Nursing Home); daily education and actions regarding power and injustice can help develop personal relations into relations for political opposition.

Charlotte's response to being asked to work outside of her job description shows us that there are times when a worker may decide to accommodate an unfair situation in order to improve her overall position. Instead of resisting a supervisor's request that she assist the cook, Charlotte chose to accept the assignment in order to gain additional knowledge and skill in the workplace. Given the somewhat loosely-structured nature of the work environment when she began working at Wildwood, being able to perform multiple tasks made Charlotte a more valuable employee. This meant that she might have more opportunities for work (and thus, additional pay) than employees with fewer skills and less experience.

Charlotte's discussion of her strategies echoes the resourceful ways in which other study subjects, and black women generally, have sought to balance the

responsibilities imposed upon them in their households and workplaces. Charlotte's experience shows how she and her husband were able to forge a rather egalitarian relationship within their household; one in which they approached and completed the tasks of the household together. Admittedly, the strategy used by Charlotte and her husband may seem quite unusual in light of social science literature which attest to the greater number of hours per week spent by U.S. women in taking care of their families.[44] Yet Charlotte's account underscores the necessity for continuing research into the real experiences and strategies of working-class actors in order to concretely understand how oppressed women and men meet the challenges of their lives.

Bernita Drayton's thoughtful reflections on her experiences and strategies echo the recognition by Lynette Smith that when workers do not have union protections, sometimes there is little that they can do. Bernita speaks candidly about how she sometimes chose to talk with other co-workers about particular problems; or how she chose to be "a little bit quiet" about certain situations and was careful about what she said. These are undoubtedly strategies adopted by a number of workers when they see few other options available; and to the casual observer, they may seem of little significance. Yet what may be lost here is that by using such strategies, Bernita was able to keep her job and learn how to effect some sort of change at a more propitious moment. Her talks with other workers provided her with knowledge and understanding that she would need at a later time. Both Bernita and Lynette provide examples of what another older woman worker meant when she told this researcher, "Sometimes, you got to take low."[45] This approach of "taking low" was not reflective of any lack of courage or self-

esteem on the part of Bernita or Lynette. Instead, it was an approach of biding time and preparing for later battles.

Bernita's strategy of confronting Mrs. Gough was indeed a bold maneuver which required not only courage, but a firm grasp of what had actually been going on for some time. The understanding demonstrated by Bernita in her confrontation resulted from her patient use of other tactics as well. Having decided that her supervisor and co-worker were unjustly benefiting "at her expense," Bernita took the risk of speaking up in a very dramatic fashion, which (in this instance) contributed to the successful resolution of her problem. While Bernita's boldness is quite evident, her preparation enabled her to act in accordance with her judgments with as much prudence as possible.

Personal and Collective Strategies Before Unionization

Marion and Bernita talked at some length about their activities to help organize their co-workers to establish the union at Methodist. Marion focused on the types of activities that she felt were needed to mobilize others. Bernita emphasized the approach that she and Marion had to adopt to successfully win over those who were fearful:

> I would get up early in the morning before my time to be at work which is at 7 o'clock and it was nothing for me to be out in front of Methodist Hospital...at like 5 and leaving early, to pass out leaflets. It didn't get too cold for us to be out there. I was always passing out leaflets, I was tearing down posters that management would put up against the union, propaganda. I would also put up posters of the union, that they would tear down. I even took people throwing letters back into my face asking why am I being involved, this is not something that's good for you, that they're just going to take your money. But I felt strong enough that if Methodist was treating me with $3.04 an hour that the union had to be better than this. And then that I'd grown up in a union family, I knew it was better than this. So whatever it took, I was there.

> I think the biggest problem back then was...people didn't understand, but many of us came from union families and you know, you talk about the steel workers, you see the steel workers and all the good work that they've done, and most of the people and their families came from, you know, steel, they came from steel workers. So you know, it was kind of tough trying to explain to people as to why we needed a union. [T]here were a lot of times when we had to walk down the hallway and they would always make people think that some thing was going to happen to them. They...the hospital had non union people, those who were against the union, thinking that those of us who were for a union, would harm them. So you had to be careful and you always had to go in pairs, never get on the elevator by yourself, don't take the stairway alone. They tried to make people afraid. We tried to talk to people and basically, as Marion said, we talked to people a lot of times when we're together. Sometimes we would all go and sit and talk. But we worked things out that way so that we could help people to understand and we wanted them to know that it was all about respect. Not money, it's about respect. And if you can get that respect and can stand together, you can win together.

Lynette Smith drew from her extensive experiences as a union staff representative and talked about how careful pro-union workers had to be in conducting union activities:

> If you were going to do union activity, you could not be a slacker. You would have to be at work on time and you would have to do your work. And you would have to kind of put a effort into making sure that everything was taken care of at work so that you wouldn't get wrote up. You could be terminated if you had had any previous infractions. You couldn't take a person who had a lot of write-ups and have them do some of these demonstrations, 'cause they would get fired and they wouldn't get their jobs back, because the boss could show that they fired them for just cause.

Priscella Wilson's account of her union activism reveals her strong faith in the ability of employees to work together to enhance their conditions of labor. Her account also underscores Priscella's belief that there were often instances in which hospital management might have learned much from the workers about how to resolve problems impacting the delivery of quality medical care to patients and their families:

> Well, I pretty much handled my own. At that time I was really, what, almost 10 years working, so I pretty much had it together for myself; but I just knew that there were other people that needed help. So I made myself

> available to them by letting them know that whatever time of day, if you've gotten into trouble with your supervisor or whatever—whether it was days, 3- 11, or midnight—I was available to try to rectify it though conversation or through whatever action was necessary. I wanted management to collaborate more with the employees; I wanted management to hear what they had to say, because some of them were very legitimate in what their complaints were about. They were very much work-related complaints; but they not only were scared, they were not comfortable in doing things a little off the norm. I'm not talking extreme. I'm not talking about stealing. I'm not talking about beating people up. I'm not talking about trying to poison people or not clean or do their job. There were just other things that the supervisor felt that the workers didn't have to do; but the employee doing the job knew that certain things come up. You can write a lot of things down on paper but that is not to say that it will be performed by a human being dot by dot....That's why I'm saying "things off the norm."
>
> [B]ut I just wanted to see a little bit more unity there. I wanted to see the supervisors understand that we're not evil mean people, we just want fair money, fair trade for the job that's done. Because if they think about it (and I told management this in the union meeting), we can make you and we can break you, so why not allow us to make you? So then, we're not going to allow you to break us, so this is why we have the union. And I know some of them heard me because I feel myself (and I have been told by a couple) that they gained more respect for the union because of the things that were said and how they were said. Because I guess they thought we were a bunch of buffoons and was just going to sit out there and cuss and fuss instead of trying to put things down in a nicely organized fashion. They weren't looking for us to be that organized. And when we were, they were just as shocked because we came through for them.

Shirley Baldwin emphasized how her patient efforts to get help in meeting the needs of patients finally paid off:

> You know at one point, I think when I did go to her...she would tell me, "We just have to do what we have to do." [T]hen she would come back sometimes and give me a hand in what I was trying to do. And then other times she would get me some more help. She would get me another person and than we would start working like a team. You know one girl would have eight patients and I would have my eight patients, and we would work together. And we would get the job done. That was later into the work time.

Theresa Brown's story of her days at Wildwood gave new meaning to the phrase "labor of love." Her description indicated that health care workers at that institution contributed much more to the care of their patients than one might imagine. What this researcher found most striking was Theresa's resourcefulness and willingness to spend her own meager funds to help her residents:

> You know, my boss said I couldn't have nothing. So when I did get that job I had to go out of my pockets, if I wanted to keep my residents smelling good. That was a disadvantage because it hurt in my pocket a little bit, but for the love for your patients, you'll do a lot of stuff. And you want your patients to smell good when your boss comes around.
>
> When we had glove problems, we all worked together; we all came together as a group. We never did that and this time we stood up. We needed a certain kind of soap for deodorizing the residents' bodies; and we had to fight for that because management didn't want to give it to us all of the time; they were short in their supplies. And sometimes we brought our own stuff from home and washed the residents up. And that, I said, handled my problems...

Reflecting further on the ways in which she and her co-workers supported one another to meet workplace demands, Theresa pointed out that:

> [S]ometimes it was just hard, you know, women lifting someone that is 300-400 lbs. off of the bed or something like that. It's hard. And when they're wrestling and don't want it [you know how old people are], they get cantankerous in their ways. But we made it. We brought clothes in, we did a lot of stuff that we shouldn't have had to do....out of our own pockets. And that cut into our money because I only brought about $200 and some home; $215, or something like that. That was a disadvantage when you had to pay for your car note and you had to pay for your house. So you had to work doubles to make that extra, to put on that extra little check, you know? [T]hey didn't get us nobody to lift. Now they got them since I've left. The other managers have brought in orderlies that work with the residents. But we didn't have no orderlies. Sometimes I'd be ornery; I would get Mr. Crump's son when he was there, off college vacation, and pull him into the room. I'd say, 'Come on, follow me. You're getting paid too, come on.' And that was how I was messing with

> people. And I got him to work, to come in and help. Yes, it was his son that was on the payroll.

Mildred Wallace spoke very briefly, although quite passionately, about her decision to help build a union at Wildwood. Having faced many of the same challenges referred to by Theresa, Charlotte, Alter Jean, and Edna, Mildred was unwilling to stand by and see conditions get worse. Her straightforward logic, although framed in terms of self-preservation and survival, is also a reflection of Mildred's concern for others:

> I wasn't having problems but there was so many good people that was fired. For no good reason. I knew when they was going to fire someone because the supervisor would say "Oh, So— and—So seems to have an attitude." Look out the next day, that person wasn't going to be there. They had started firing people in groups. You can work today, and when you go back tomorrow, you may find a whole group of new people. Those people were blackballed, and they couldn't even get unemployment. Some of them could never get back into the medical field. So my thing was, it's them today, it may be me tomorrow. So I wanted to end this.

The several statements included in this section further demonstrate the existence of three (3) broad types of strategies pursued by workers prior to the establishment of a union in their workplaces: (1) strategies to defend and support oneself; (2) strategies to defend and support one's co-workers; and (3) strategies to win and build worker support for unionism in the workplace.

Marion Epps's comments reveal her commitment to the belief that no matter what the challenges; the struggle to establish a union was the only pathway to a fair and safe workplace for herself and her co-workers. Marion's understanding reflected not only her personal experiences of having grown up in a union family, but also her keen

recognition of the treatment she and her co-workers had received—and would continue to receive—at the hands of hospital management. Marion found that, at times, her activism not only put her at odds with management; but also with some of her co-workers; who often uncritically accepted management's positions regarding unionism and vehemently rejected Marion's efforts to explain why workers needed a union. Marion showed considerable patience and respect for her co-workers even when they became belligerent.

Bernita Drayton showed similar resolve and attentiveness in her efforts to help her co-workers think more carefully about their workplace conditions and the need for a union. She and Marion often worked as a team when trying to put into practice their own ideals, as well as the training they received from union organizers, in order to win the support of their co-workers. Measuring her comments with a bit of understatement, Bernita readily notes that "it was kind of tough trying to explain" the need for a union, especially when management had taken pains to create the impression that pro-union workers were prone to violence against those workers who were not yet convinced that unionism would benefit them. The courage, discipline, and reasonableness with which Bernita and Marion carried the message of unionism to their co-workers were indeed remarkable. These characteristics demonstrated not only the moral and political agency of these two women. They also demonstrated the value(s) of their union training and the strength of their belief in their co-workers' abilities to participate (as they had) in a process of learning, change, and growth. Thus, when Bernita and Marion told their co-workers that establishing a union was "about respect," they were not simply calling for

management to respect all the workers in their workplace. They were also calling upon their co-workers to believe in their own humanity, and to fight for its recognition.

Lynette Smith's statement underscores the challenges facing an individual worker, and the leaders of a union organizing drive, when attempting to build support for unionization in a non-union workplace. Lynette's comment, "If you were going to do union activity, you could not be a slacker," reflects both her experiences as a pro-union activist and her experiences as an organizer for 1199. In each of these roles, Lynette had learned that the decision to build a union within one's workplace is only one of numerous difficult challenges that must be confronted in the process of creating workplace justice. In fact, establishing one's reputation as "someone who was going to really do a day's work" was the most effective way to win the respect of one's co-workers and one's supervisors. Lynette's recognition of this basic fact of unionism also challenges the canard so often heard that unionists are simply "trying to get something for nothing." While Lynette was well aware that some of her co-workers held this misconception, she tried to help them understand that such an attitude had nothing to do with the unionism she was trying to embody.

The account offered by Priscella Wilson is strikingly similar to those of other subjects who not only demanded respect from hospital management for workers, but also demanded that workers establish new standards of workplace citizenship for themselves. Priscella pointedly describes how she sought to not only have management hear what workers had to say regarding their demands for respect, but also to hear the specific suggestions workers had for improving the delivery of health care within the

hospital. Priscella's account shows that her involvement with unionism was more than a means to maximize her economic interests in her workplace. Indeed, she was looking for a new standard of "collaboration" between management and workers for the improvement of patient care. Yet Priscella was also quite adamant that care for patients could not be separated from caring for the workers who made care possible. As Priscella so audaciously expressed to management, "...we can make you and we can break you, so why not allow us to make you?" Like Marion, Bernita, and Lynette, Priscella sought to empower her co-workers to believe more strongly in themselves and their rights to offer intelligent, constructive suggestions regarding the most effective ways to perform their occupational duties. Priscella notes with pride how the workers gained respect for themselves and the union when they spoke up at a large worksite meeting called by the union:

> And I know some of them heard me because...I have been told...that they gained more respect for the union because of the things that were said and how they were said. Because I guess they thought we were a bunch of buffoons...just going to sit out there and cuss and fuss instead of trying to put things down in a nicely organized fashion. They weren't looking for us to be that organized. And when we were, they were just as shocked because we came through for them.

Shirley Baldwin's account attests to the fact that her persistent efforts to resist unfair and unreasonable work assignments eventually paid off. Shirley acknowledges that early on (during the period when she was a nurse's assistant), her supervisor had been unwilling to accede to Shirley's request for help. Yet later on, "she would come back sometimes and give me a hand in what I was trying to do." At other times, the

supervisor "would get me some more help." Shirley's initial challenge was not without its risks, yet her thoughtful and persistent manner of presenting her concerns (coupled with her demonstrated work ethic) made an impression on the supervisor with whom she was working. It may well be that had Shirley sought to make her case with a different supervisor, the result might have been different. Yet Shirley, like other study subjects, was quite astute in sizing up the situation(s) in which she worked. The probability that her strategy might have proven unsuccessful in other circumstances does not negate the value of her initial efforts to speak up for herself and modify her work conditions. Undoubtedly, it was such probabilities that eventually convinced her that her most thoroughgoing strategy would be to fight for a unionized workplace.

Theresa Brown's report reemphasizes the importance of workers developing a mutually-supportive work culture in the absence of a union and its formal protections. Given management's failure to provide the necessary equipment (antibacterial soaps, deodorants, and heavy-duty gloves) and staff needed for adequate patient/resident care; Theresa and her co-workers had to come together and organize. While Theresa had recognized the necessity to "take care of herself" (to address certain problems self-reliantly) quite early in her employment at Wildwood; she soon realized that the problems facing her were problems faced by other workers as well. In order to more effectively care for residents, and look out for themselves, the workers "came together as a group" and supported one another. According to Theresa, such a collective response to a workplace problem had never happened previously; and while it is important not to

exaggerate the significance of workers' responses (collectively buying and sharing supplies, as well as demanding that management be more responsible for necessary equipment) it is also important that we do not overlook the political potential reflected in the workers' strategy. The recognition and response of Wildwood workers regarding (1) management's negligence; (2) the residents' needs; and (3) the looming problem of blame to be assigned to the workers for unkempt patients are all essential elements of what feminist scholar Karen Brodkin Sacks has referred to as "informal work culture."[46] This culture (identified by Sacks during her research with African-American women health care workers during the 1970s) "centered on reinforcing family-based values to validate women's view of their work as requiring both mental and organizational skills, and of themselves as responsible and competent adults."[47] For Theresa and her co-workers, the familial (and familiar) nature of their daily care for nursing home residents obliged them to respond in way(s) similar to the ways they would respond within their own households. Their understanding of their tasks thus reflected not only their regard for their patients, but also their valuations of themselves (as both caretakers and caring persons), and their abiding opposition towards an unresponsive and irresponsible management. Their strategy for resolving their workplace challenges may not have initially been politically motivated—that is, the strategy may not have been designed to alter existing power relations in the workplace—but it helped to consolidate their collective thought and social networking in ways that laid the basis for more explicitly political objectives at another time. Here we can see the usefulness of Sacks's insights regarding the importance of "the stuff of workplace culture" as a synthesis within which

"the seeds of activism seem to be preserved, even if they stay dormant," until catalyzed by evolving conditions. For Theresa and her co-workers (somewhat similarly to the women of Sacks's study), their "family-derived values about adulthood, work, and respect" enabled them "to assert and legitimate their positive evaluation of their own skill and work in opposition" to the denigration of nursing home owners and management. Thus, the workers' informal work culture provided them with "a family-based idiom of resistance."[48]

Theresa's account of how she pressed the son of the nursing home owner into service to assist her and her co-workers is not only humorous, but it further demonstrates the resourceful manner in which she confronted the day-to-day challenges of working without adequate help for the existing number of nursing home residents. Theresa acknowledges that there was certainly a measure of "orneriness" in her strategy of making Thomas Crump's vacationing son assist her in the nursing home. Yet her impatient response also carried a clear message to management—which was undoubtedly communicated by the owner's son: "If you won't provide us with adequate help, we will do what we have to do; even if that means making your son earn what you should be paying us." While Theresa's strategy may not have moved her black employer to make needed changes; we cannot discount the importance of the strategy and the message for her co-workers. Theresa's action provided further confirmation that she and her co-workers were justified in collectively resolving their problems, and her rather mischievous tactic was also a heartening way of affirming the abilities of black women to "make a way outta no way." In the absence of established regulations and procedures to

which management is obliged to follow, Theresa's strategy proved a successful guerrilla tactic in the uphill fight with management for respect and responsiveness to patient needs.

Mildred Wallace's decision to help build a union in her workplace (the same health care facility in which Theresa and several other subjects worked) shows a clear-cut commitment to the highly-touted (yet seldom embodied) trade-union principle of "an injury to one is an injury to all." Like Theresa, Edna, and Alter Jean, Mildred was well experienced in watching out for herself. Yet her understanding of the wrongs so arbitrarily committed against her co-workers convinced her that she needed to join others in working for the establishment of a workplace in which clearly established standards and procedures could be developed with some input from workers themselves. Within a unionized workplace, the arbitrariness which had so often led to the unjust firing and smearing of her former co-workers could be formally opposed. Mildred's own words speak volumes about her moral integrity as well as the intolerable and precarious environment in which she had worked: "So my thing was, it's them today, it may be me tomorrow. So I wanted to end this."

Personal and Collective Strategies Following Unionization

Notwithstanding her customary humility, Anna Dixon spoke quite authoritatively about her experiences as a delegate, or steward, for her co-workers at Methodist:

> Well, I'll say it like this. We had some delegates that would go in and try to act like Perry Mason. And they would, you know, they would jump down the manager's throat without even an explanation. But as for me (I'm just talking about me now), when a person would come to me with a problem with the supervisor, I didn't just take their word. I asked them to put it down on paper what it was and what time it was and then I wouldn't have a problem because the supervisor also had something down on paper and I didn't want to go in there with just my mouth. I always had them

> tell me exactly what happened, what was said by whom and where. That's exactly how I mostly kept my people, my co- workers, together. And most of the time, I almost always got my problems solved with the supervisor. In some things, I know some of the workers was wrong, but I know I went all the way—I couldn't let my people down; not with managers, you know?

Louella Wallace gave a very detailed description of the declining conditions in which workers and the union had to continually fight Methodist management in the 1980s. From Louella's account we can gain some very disturbing insights into the workplace conditions in which health care workers have been trying to dispense quality health care. Louella's reflections are especially disturbing because, like Lynette Smith, she highlights discriminatory biases and behaviors within the SEIU itself:

> The leadership has changed and right now I think it is another process going on. It seems like it fell apart about six years ago. When SEIU stepped in, we had SEIU for a long time before the last six years. So when we ended up with this other president, Tom Balanoff, we still had Alice, Lorenzo and Lynette. They still did the best that they could to run the local...and basically we had our own president in Gary... We had our own local. So once the Chicago folks stepped in and they started running the show, it seemed like they didn't care anything about the workers over in Indiana. It's all about Chicago. It seemed like once the Chicago president, Tom Balanoff, stepped in and sent this black female over; all the workers thought that we had a strong black woman to support us and be there for us...Then we found out right after we had the strike (it was very emotional) that they...didn't want Alice Bush (a white female) over the local no more; Chicago folks felt she could not control the membership of the mainly-black local. So, all of a sudden Alice was no more, Lynette was gone, and now we have Lorenzo only. Chicago folks tell us, "Lorenzo is going to get some help." But Lorenzo never gets any help to service the workers...He had to go every Monday to a staff meeting in Chicago. There is nobody in the office to help run the office. For six months we didn't even have a secretary in the office, and all of a sudden we finally got a secretary in the office, and they made her *part-time*...So than the workers started feeling like they didn't care about them...And every time you turn around, you ask the workers – well, could you put these flyers out for me about a union meeting. Nobody shows up at the union meeting...We used to have people show up for the union meeting. They used to be involved in actions. You could ask them to pass out a

> leaflet for you...You can't get the workers to do anything for you, now. They don't respect the union, 'cause they feel the union has done nothing for them, but take their dues and then the dues are steady going up. Leaders are steady telling them that they don't have the revenue to take care of them. We still don't have anybody in the office to work to help with the workers over here.

When this researcher posed a specific question regarding the most recent strike of Methodist workers, Louella poured out her feelings as well as her reflections:

> It was in 2000. We had Tom Balanoff as our president at that time. He didn't like the fact that we went on strike to stand up for our rights as workers. So once the strike was over, Tom Balanoff and the SEIU International Office split Local 73 into Locals 73 and 73HC. Local 73 was for service workers such as school bus drivers and janitors. Local 73HC was to be for health care workers. So the next thing you know we were no longer with the service sector. We were with health care, and now we have a black female, Pia Davis, as our president...she was appointed by international. [T]he workers took the union back. We had an election and the vote was almost unanimous. We got like 2,019 to 592....[W]e had a campaign called "Members First." Nobody from the upper levels of the union got involved. Not the international, not the AFL-CIO. We had filed charges against the president. We had a hearing that lasted all night. We never heard anything about the charges...Nobody stood up and spoke on anything until after the election.
>
> There is a lot of movement that needs to be done...So I keep educating myself, doing all I can to see anything I can do to help these workers... because if they want to leave Methodist Hospital I will try to get them some information to help them—if that is what they want to do— to go to another place with opportunities and benefits for them... But if they want to stay within Methodist Hospital, I am going to try to work with them...and fight for the rights as hard as I can. I'll still continue with the union even if I wasn't an officer [Note: Louella is currently a member of the executive board for her union local] or I didn't work at Methodist Hospital. I'll find something that I could do with the union, because I am still a member of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute...I have been a member of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute since I was seventeen years old... There will still be something in the community for me to do, and I will still do it, I'll never stop.

Marion and Bernita are as active as ever in their union, and they have joined with Louella to strengthen the executive board of the local. In their reports, Marion and

Bernita speak about their visions for what must be done to strengthen their workplace, their union, their community, and their industry:

> What I like about our leadership is that they turn everything back over to the members because the members are the union. They didn't just put officers in place, it's all members that's on the different committees, getting involved, so they can get other members that's not involved to let them know what's going on so they might want to get involved with all of us. Because we have so many committees out there that we're trying to even organize...all of our union members to be on some type of committee to be involved in what's going on. Not only in the union but with what's going on in the world also. Because like she said, the election [Note: Marion is referring to the U.S. election for the President of the United States.] is coming up, it's a very important election, not only to union members but to all people of, especially healthcare. We work in a health care field and we have the poorest health care around in this country. And that is sad. And there's so many people that can't even afford healthcare, so we're trying to get all of our members involved.... We've got some new people, who are stepping up right now, who are watching some of the things that we do. They can see that we're busy..., it's not just we're sitting back and doing nothing. We're fighting for them but it takes, you know, we tell them, we can fight with you, not for you. We need you to stand with us, not behind you and not in front, we'll be right there with you... We've got new people who have stepped up or decided that they, they want to get a little taste of this, they want to work with and do it. That's a good feeling.

Lynette highlighted her own passion for workplace justice and the continual strengthening of the union for which she worked for so many years (she is now retired). She explained why rank-and-file workers must be increasingly involved in their union and how she learned to draw her co-workers into the work of strengthening the workplace:

> [A]ctually you will accomplish more. You will accomplish the changes that you want, because management of the facilities would listen to their workers quicker than they will when they call another union person from outside the facility. Listen to what the workers had to say, write down all of their problems during the year. So if it was something that I couldn't change because of contract language, if we tried to get the new language in the next contract, we could have meetings to talk to workers about what

> they should do inside the workplace. [I]f you got the language you are going to win the grievance. The worker will get promotions, transfers, raises... If the language is iffy then you might not win the grievance and you might not even get an arbitrator to see your point of view. But if the language is there you are definitely going to win the grievance and all of the above that I previously mentioned...If we accepted iffy language in the contract sometimes you did because that was the first step in getting some language into the contract so that you could improve on it in another contract. [T]hey [Note: Lynette is referring to her co-workers.] would say why did we accept that type of language and you do because it gives you something to work with, you know?
>
> Occasionally I had a meeting where a worker would give you permission. Say go ahead and talk to them, you know what I mean? 'Side bargaining' is what we called it, during negotiations or something, but the majority of times we would take a member with us. It is very important to take a member with you....One reason is that you want the workers to know that you are not trying to pull anything over on them with the management or settle for some language or something that they didn't want. It is just the importance of being straightforward with the worker.

Theresa Brown spoke at length about how she and other workers attempted to prepare for the 1987-88 strike at Wildwood, and about how hard they fought to win:

> In the health care situations, you have to notify your employer in the facility so they can have other people come in for the residents; you don't want anybody to die or anything. Well, the residents were hearing, some of the families were hearing what was going on, they asked us about it. We talked with them. I said, 'Well, I know I'm walking.' We told them what we were going to do. And we told them, 'If you want to take your families out, you better take them out now. If you are not, you know, prepare yourself. And you'd better be here to watch your family.' Because I knew management wasn't going to have nobody good to work in there. And the ones that were going to stay, they weren't that great as workers....
>
> During the strike? We was outside, you know, but when families would come in to visit their related, they would tell us what was going on in the building; how people weren't getting cleaned and how the food wasn't good, like when we was working. And then we saw a lot of people going out in ambulances all the time and I said, 'They're getting sick.' Well, the patients and the supporters wanted us back in. You know how I am; I've got a mouth, so I went to the Teamsters and asked them to help us, to support us on the picket lines. And then the other unions supported us; the

> steel mill workers, you know. People came out to support us. They knew we was trying to better ourselves. And the residents' families would yell when they came in, 'Keep getting what you want.' They were encouraging. That's all we did, we just went around to different places and people came out and donated money to help us out. They would tell us to keep on, keep on striking, in what you believe. They would even bring us food.
>
> We asked everybody which shift they wanted to take. And we had three shifts, morning, noon and midnight. And I told them I wanted midnight. And you know, another girlfriend wanted midnights. Charlotte Brown and Edna Barden wanted to be in the morning. Jean, I think, was 3-11, I can't remember. That's how we set it up. You know we had the barrels, the supporters brought the barrels, shanties, and everything for us. And the steel mills came out and supported us, even gave us food during the strike. And the steel workers brought the coke from Bethlehem. I said, 'That's beautiful.' If we didn't have enough food, they brought us food. Then later on somebody brought us a van, a camper to keep warm.

The preceding accounts of study subjects regarding the activities and relationships to which they committed themselves within unionized work settings provide valuable insights about the significance, and the limitations, of unionism during the rise of neoliberalism in the Northwest Indiana region of the United States. Though the voices of study subjects make the benefits of having a union readily apparent; the current challenges of consolidating, expanding, and buttressing union power are prodigious for working-class political actors.

The reflections of Ms. Anna Dixon help to present a realistic picture of the competing demands that confront a worker who seeks to defend her co-workers and herself from the imperatives of management to control workers and curtail their rights. Given the virulent anti-union hostility so characteristic of U.S. workplaces since the 1970s; trade unionist activists must always be mindful of helping their co-workers to avoid unnecessary and/or frivolous conflicts with management personnel that can

precipitate workplace crises which ultimately strengthen the hands of employers by undermining union effectiveness, credibility and support. For a union delegate, or steward, like Ms. Dixon, the daily problems associated with establishing and maintaining some semblance of workplace justice were often intractable, especially during a historical period in which the property rights and prerogatives of capital inside the workplace were continuously emphasized as almost sacrosanct. Amidst the intensifying pressures at Methodist Hospital, Anna sought to act in a circumspect manner so that both workers and management would take her seriously. This meant that she sought to conduct herself as someone who would do her best to defend her co-workers within the limits of the contract, while also being someone who would make certain of her facts before presenting a grievance case to management personnel. This approach helped to keep her co-workers aware of the importance of knowing the contract, adhering to its guidelines, and only seeking Anna's assistance on good grounds. The approach also helped to establish Anna's reputation as someone with whom management could deal reasonably and fairly to address problems in the workplace—assuming management's desire to do so. Anna's modus operandi was very important during the period immediately after the establishment of the union, since this was a period in which tensions between management and workers were still quite volatile, and there was an urgent need to establish a new order in which both management and workers would adhere to contractual guidelines with a modicum of cooperation. This was not an easy order to establish, for the old pre-union order of arbitrariness, abuse and paternalism still seemed beneficial to some in management; and many workers who had been unjustly treated now

wanted to trump old adversaries. Anna's statesmanlike approach helped to create the very kind of environment that Priscella Wilson hoped for; one in which a positive "collaboration" could be established to improve both the effectiveness of health care delivery and the conditions under which workers delivered care.

Louella Wallace provides a very compelling assessment of the problems she has witnessed during her efforts to build the solidity, democracy, and effectiveness of her union. As a worker who has been very active in her union as a delegate, an executive board member for her local, and also as a vice-president of the local; Louella's assessment of union strengths and weaknesses is firmly grounded in her considerable experience, knowledge, and training. Her reflections therefore raise some crucial questions about her union and U.S. unionism in general.[49]

In her interview account (and in post-interview conversations), Louella revealed that shortly after the 2000 SEIU strike by health care workers at the north and south campuses of Methodist Hospital, she and other workers were forced to acknowledge profound problems in their newly-amalgamated union local. The changes seemed directly connected to divisions that had surfaced inside the union during the strike. By standing up to hospital management regarding demands for an end to the tier system[50]; an end to problems around staffing and harassment; and improved wages, SEIU workers had certainly shown "a tremendous expression of unity under terrible pressures."[51] Yet the ending of the strike proved to be something of a stalemate. The workers had sent a clear message to management, local government officials, and the general public that they were not going to accept the onerous conditions and the sheer disrespect that had

previously characterized management-employee relations. Yet, on the other hand, hospital management had not adequately addressed worker demands Choosing her words very carefully, Louella indicated that what had proven most disturbing to workers was the fact that they had not only faced the recalcitrance of management; they had also witnessed the extremely unsupportive stance of Tom Balanoff, the acting president of the local union at the time of the strike. A rising star within the Chicago-area trade union movement and SEIU nationally[52] at the time of the strike, Balanoff had differed considerably with Gary workers and their trusted organizers, Alice Bush and Lorenzo Crowell, over the objectives and strategy of the strike.[53] This critical division within the official strike leadership gravely undermined the workers' struggle against their employer. Notwithstanding Balanoff's considerable knowledge, insight, and negotiating experience (and despite any of his good intentions); it was the workers, Bush, and Crowell who best understood the conditions and needs in Gary. Thus, Balanoff's eventual exclusion of workers and their most trusted officials from meetings with management proved a major blow to the democratic process. Louella further indicates that immediately following the strike, adding insult to injury, Balanoff placed an African-American woman, Pia Davis, at the helm of the union local. This meant that he removed himself, and Alice Bush, from the day-to-day leadership of the local union's affairs. Although these changes were made with the help of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU), the changes nonetheless usurped the will and democratic voice of the workers; limited the capacity of Lorenzo Crowell to adequately serve the membership; and engendered the bitter opposition of workers toward both Balanoff and Davis.

Louella's account echoes the concerns she shared with other study subjects about increasing the number of health care workers active within the union. Her activism at different levels within the union structures clearly indicates her understanding that by winning more of her co-workers to union activity, she could buttress workers' defenses against the incessant assaults of management and also help to improve the democratic functioning of the union as a workplace institution. Despite Louella's goals and her tireless efforts to educate herself and consolidate her co-workers, the strengthening of the union was gravely jeopardized by the problems engendered by Tom Balanoff's leadership. Gary health care workers had been dealt a disempowering blow by Balanoff's attitude and actions during the 2000 strike. Seeing the patent disregard shown by their acting local president toward their needs and demands, workers had begun to develop a sense of defeatism and cynicism about the value of the strike and their activism within the union. These feelings among workers—which posed enormous difficulties during and after the strike for leading activists like Louella—had undoubtedly been reinforced by Balanoff's exclusionary efforts to meet with hospital management to conclude the strike. The cynicism and individualism[54] that followed so ineluctably upon the exclusion of workers (and their trusted leaders) from the very process in which they should have been participating has subsequently helped to strengthen hospital efforts to bring about the decertification of the union.[55] Such an outcome (which would be devastating to the effective delivery of health care in Gary, to health care workers at Methodist, and to many non-union workers in the area) becomes even more probable at a time when, as Louella points out, "union dues are going up."

After months of trying to work with the black woman who had been imposed[56] upon them as their local union president; workers within the new amalgamated local responded with the strategy of building the "Members First Campaign," a rank-and-file movement with the two-fold objective of reclaiming control of the local for the workers and setting an agenda to adequately address the workers' needs. The activism and leadership of study subjects Louella, Marion, Bernita, and Wilma were evident throughout this campaign,[57] which ousted Pia Davis and elected Byron Hobbs as the new local president in July, 2003. Such movements are extremely difficult to build—and often fail—in U.S. trade unions, and the successful accomplishment of the first objective of "Members First" is a powerful testimony to the solidity, vision and disciplined activity of the workers and union officials (such as Lorenzo Crowell) who planned and conducted the campaign through its difficult stages. The workers are now attempting to realize the campaign's second, and more challenging, objective of setting and carrying out an agenda for the workers of the local.[58]

Louella Wallace's efforts on behalf of herself, her co-workers and her union are an inspiring example of the commitment to workplace justice and workplace democracy that have already been demonstrated in this study. Her dedication to social movement activism, not only inside the union but within her community beyond the workplace, is also an important indicator of the potential links that can yet be established between workplace and working-class community struggles for empowerment and systemic change.

The statements of Marion Epps and Bernita Drayton reflect the complexities of internal union politics, in which workers must learn to persist in their efforts to improve the organization despite its human frailties and contradictions. For Marion and Bernita, who have also served as delegates and local executive board members along with Louella, recognition of the problems outlined by Louella has prompted them to become even more diligent and steadfast in their efforts to educate their co-workers and bring them into more active involvement in their union. Although they chose to say nothing regarding the 2000 strike and its aftermath (presumably to avoid airing too much of the organization's "dirty laundry"), each of these women gave tirelessly in their day-to-day activities during the Members-First Campaign; and their comments indicate how passionately they embody their belief in winning their co-workers to more active participation as union members. This type of participatory democracy within the workplace has been a critical focal point of political theorists during the past quarter-century such as Carole Pateman, C. B. Macpherson, Iris Marion Young, who have not only recognized the workplace as an often-unexamined site of citizenship and politics; but have also understood that "through practices of workplace democracy..., citizens can both begin to realize the social and economic equality that [is] a condition for democratic participation in the wider polity, and at the same time live the value of creative self-governance in one of the most regular and immediate aspects of modern life...."[59] It is indeed heartening to note that, notwithstanding their personal sacrifices and the difficulties of their trade union and workplace, the efforts of unionists such as Louella, Marion, and Bernita appear to be bearing fruit. As Bernita has observed, "We've got new

people who have stepped up or decided that...they want to get a little taste of this, they want to work with and do it. That's a good feeling."

Lynette Smith's account of her post-union strategies as an SEIU organizer sheds light on some of her daily activities to serve her co-workers, as well as her understanding of the relationship between the democratic participation of members and the improvement of their workplace conditions. Lynette also offered some insights regarding ways in which such union activities can most effectively be conducted. Lynette noted that based upon her years of experience, she believes that workers will gain more from their experiences as union members if they try to play an active, rather than a passive, role. She argues that if individual workers become more active in their workplaces, their management personnel will probably be more receptive to concerns about job conditions from the workers who perform those jobs than to people coming from outside the workplace.

Regarding her daily efforts to make the union process more responsive to individual workers, Lynette placed great emphasis on carefully listening to workers and recording their concerns during each encounter with them in/about their workplaces. These encounters with co-workers enabled the union representative to gain a concrete understanding of the workplace balance of power. By carefully attending to workers' views and insights, Lynette felt that the union organizer could help workers develop a more systematic understanding of daily workplace problems and possible opportunities for strengthening worker power vis-à-vis the employer. Given the continuous twists and turns of daily navigating workplace power dynamics, Lynette underscored the importance

of translating workers' needs and concerns into appropriate contract language in order to better establish a basis for changing the conditions of the workplace. As one of the study subjects with the most experience as a full-time union representative and organizer, Lynette clearly understood that developing and negotiating pro-worker language[60] within the union contract was essential if representatives were to more effectively help workers address their problems in the grievance process. She spoke quite authoritatively about the intricacies that one must learn to master if one is to be successful at negotiating a contract that workers can actually use to strengthen union presence and power in the workplace.

Lynette also touched upon the importance of union representatives always trying to keep workers involved in discussions between management and union officials regarding workplace problems. Her strong ethical stand on this matter echoed the concerns expressed by Louella regarding the approach of some union officials who prefer to exclude workers' voices from negotiations with management representatives. Clearly, Lynette, like Louella, believed that if workers are to be encouraged to play increasingly active roles in their unions—thereby rendering those unions potentially more inclusive and democratic—union officials must be very circumspect about "side-bargaining." While Lynette was realistic enough to know that such conversations are sometimes needed, her faith in co-workers and her understanding of the probable consequences of operating too much "behind the backs" of workers made her emphasize "the importance of being straightforward with the worker."

The account provided by Theresa Brown was one of the most poignant of the entire interview process. Theresa's efforts, and her stance as a highly-respected union leader, had originally been brought to this researcher's attention by SEIU union representative Lorenzo Crowell. Theresa's reputation as an activist is directly related to her efforts as a worker and union member at Wildwood Nursing Home, especially during the 1988-89 strike.

Among the most notable of Theresa's strategies were her efforts to prepare herself and the families of residents for the strike. Although Theresa had generally "took care of herself" as a worker at Wildwood; once she understood that there were older workers who had been at Wildwood who intended to strike, she felt that she needed to participate more actively—despite the fact that she had medical insurance (one of the workers' key demands) through her husband's coverage as a steel worker. Theresa started attending planning meetings and became one of the most vocal supporters and organizers for the strike. To prepare herself, she worked extra hours at a second job and paid off her car note so she would have no debt as the strike began. She also took a course at a local community college in order to gain a certificate and "have something to fall back on." Theresa also took pains to notify the patients and their family members that Wildwood workers would be going on strike, not only to prepare them for possible changes in the care of their loved ones, but also to gain their support for the strike against an irresponsible management. Theresa was quite concerned that "management wasn't going to have nobody good to work in there." Moreover, "the ones that were going to stay [in other words, those employees who did not intend to join the strike]...weren't that great as

workers." Theresa's concern for her patients and their families echoes the familial regard of other study subjects for their patients, even as they opposed the recalcitrance of the black owner of the nursing home, Thomas Crump.

Theresa took the initiative to reach out to other unionized workers in the Northwest Indiana area for support during the strike. This was rather unusual, since much of this sort of preparatory work was left to key union officials such as Lorenzo Crowell. Yet Theresa's initiative was simply a reflection of her self-reliance and her belief that if the workers believed in their demands enough to strike, they needed to do everything within reason to win. The support from union workers and the general Gary community to which Theresa refers in her comments is indeed one of the most laudable episodes of working-class people helping one another discovered by this researcher during the research project. Even today, workers look back upon the Wildwood strike and the support given by union and non-union workers alike as an honorable example of people "doing the right thing" in pursuit of social justice. What remains to be seen, however; is whether the example of activism and support marked by the historic Wildwood strike can be effectively used today by unionists and activists in education for the movement-building needed to address persistent inequities in the area.

Theresa's activism as a union member on the strike picket line has continued to inspire people almost two decades later. It was on New Year's Eve of 1988 when Theresa was struck by a vehicle driven by drunk driver. At the time of the accident, she was busily working her night-shift assignment, removing wood from her car so that fires could be lit in barrels to keep picketing workers warm. The tragic accident, which

resulted in Theresa's loss of both her legs, sent shock waves through the union and community of Gary. Although Theresa speaks only sparingly about the event and her sacrifice; her example served as a powerful impetus for the workers to stand firm against their employer. While Theresa's personal loss was certainly not the only factor that contributed to the workers' eventual victory, it was indeed a major factor. Yet perhaps the most remarkable feature of Theresa's activism is the humble manner in which she has continued her organizing and advocacy since she was forced to "retire" after her accident. Theresa is no longer a union member, yet her union principles are still very evident in her daily efforts to assist her neighbors in her community. "An injury to one is an injury to all" is truly Theresa's watchword, and her activism continues to inspire her former co-workers and her neighbors, both young and old.

The participation of Theresa Brown, in her workplace, her union, and today in her community, poses profound questions regarding our contemporary notions of citizenship and politics. Who is the citizen? What is politics? Is it possible for some of the most marginalized members of U.S. society—in this instance, working-class black women like Theresa Brown and Sara Brooks—to provide us with examples that can point toward the kinds of ideals and actions that might move us toward that vision of participation in public life to which theorists such as Hannah Arendt[61] drew our attention? And if social and political actors such as Theresa Brown, Lynette Smith and the other subjects of this study have demonstrated strategies that have been so inspiring and effective, even on a workplace and/or community level; isn't it possible that these actors might be capable of

contributing much more than has been imagined to the building of other movements for social justice?

NOTES

CHAPTER V

1. Irene Browne and Joya Misra, "The Intersection of Gender and Race in the Labor Market," *Annual Review of Sociology, 29,* 2003, 1.

2. Paula Dubeck and Dana Dunn, eds., *Workplace/Women's Place: An Anthology (Second Edition)*, 2002, 47-51.

3. Ibid., 5. See also Irene Browne, 1999; I. Browne, L. Tigges, and J. Press, eds., *Latinas and African American Women at Work: Race, Gender, and Economic Inequality*, "Inequality Through Labor Markets, Firms, and Families: The Intersection of Gender and Race-Ethnicity Across Three Cities," in *Urban Inequality: Evidence from Four Cities*, A. O'Connor, C. Tilly, and L. Bobo, eds., 2001, 372-406; R. Spalter-Roth and C. Deitch, "I Don't Feel Right Sized; I Feel Out-of-Work Sized: Gender, Race, Ethnicity, and the Unequal Costs of Displacement," Work Occupation, 1999, 26, 446-482.

4. Browne and Misra, 5.

5. Paula Stewart Brush, "Problematizing the Race Consciousness of Women of Color," Signs, *Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 27*(1), 2001. Brush provides a very instructive approach to understanding racism and race consciousness:

> The position I have taken in this article is that racism is made up simultaneouslyof a system of structured exclusion *and* privilege [emphasis in the original] based on race, a set of discourses and cultural representations that defend and explain one's location in that system, and the day-to-day experiences, practices, and interpersonal interactions that both draw on and reproduce those structural and cultural systems. We must study all of these dimensions simultaneously if we are to understand racism. And we must examine all of these dimensions in order to understand race consciousness. (p. 194)

6. Browne and Misra, 12.

7. Dubeck and Dunn, 49.

8. The concept of survival and resistance strategies has been drawn from the work of several scholars. My use of the concept is intended to refer to those relationships and activities to which study subjects committed themselves in order to meet the obligations of household and workplace.

9. Diana Tietjens Myers, "Agency," in *A Companion to Feminist Philosophy,* eds. Alison M. Jaggar and Iris Marion Young, 2000, 372. My thinking about the extremely important matter of black working-class women's agency has been deeply influenced by the theoretical work of several feminist scholars. I am very grateful to Vicky Spelman for reading my initial attempts at a prospectus for this project and alerting me to the contentious matter of agency. The writings of Patricia Hill Collins, 2000; Diana Tietjens Meyers, 1997; 2000; Iris Marion Young, 1989; Chantal Mouffe, 1997; Cathy Cohen, 1999; and Sharon Kurtz, 2002, have all been very helpful in the development of this chapter.

10. As one example of how these assumptions have been validated in other U.S. settings, see the illuminating discussion of African-American women's struggles in Charleston, South Carolina in the 1950s and 1960s, in *Workplace Justice: Organizing Multi-Identity Movements*, Sharon Kurtz, 2002, 56-60. Also see Karen Brodkin Sacks, "Gender and Grassroots Leadership," in *Women and the Politics of Empowerment*, eds. Ann Bookman and Sandra Morgen, 1988, 77-94; and Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment (Second Edition)*, 2000, especially "Chapter Three: Work, Family, and Black Women's Oppression," 45-67. For a revealing critique of gender bias and sexism in African-American political struggles historically, see Joy James, *Transcending the Talented Tenth: Black Leaders and American Intellectuals*, 1997, especially "Chapter Two: Profeminism and Gender Elites: W. E. B. DuBois, Anna Julia Cooper, and Ida B. Wells-Barnett," 35-59. See also Cathy J. Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*, 1999, especially "Chapter One: The Boundaries of Black Politics," 1-32; and *Women Transforming Politics: An Alternative Reader*, 1997, eds. Cathy Cohen, Kathleen B. Jones, and Joan C. Tronto, especially their "Introduction," 1-12.

11. Dorian Warren, 2003, "A New Labor Movement for a New Century?" Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, August, Philadelphia. See also Andy Banks and Jack Metzgar, "Response to 'Unions as Social Capital'," in *Labor Studies Journal*, *29*(4), Winter 2005, 27-35.

12. The reflections of workers such as Ms. Anna Dixon are amply buttressed in contemporary social science literature. For examples, see Ruth Sidel, *Women and Children Last: The Plight of Poor Women in Affluent America,* 1986; Reeve Vanneman and Lynn Weber Cannon, *The American Perception of Class*, 1987; Teresa Amott, *Caught in the Crisis: Women and the U.S. Economy Today*, 1993; Michael Yates, *Why Unions Matter*, 1995; Lawrence Mishel, Jared Bernstein, and John Scmitt, *The State of Working America, 1996-97*, 1997; and Human Rights Watch, *Unfair Advantage: Workers' Freedom of Association in the United States Under International Human Rights Standards*, 2000;

13. For an example of such scholarly work, see Michael Yates, *Why Unions Matter*, 1995.

14. Glenn, "From Servitude to Service Work," 450-454.

15. During her interview, Priscella Wilson notes that she tried to organize her co-workers in the pharmacy department, but was unable to win them to the idea of securing union protections for themselves. See the full interview in the Appendix.

16. This phrase has often been used by Lorenzo Crowell in conversations about the ongoing struggles of workers and union staff in Gary health care institutions.

17. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 201-225.

18. Robin D. G. Kelley, *Race Rebels*, 1-13.

19. Cathy J. Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*, 1999, 33-77.

20. Johanna Brenner, *Women and the Politics of Class*, 2000, 84-92.

21. Desmond S. King and Rogers M. Smith, "Racial Orders in American Political Development," *American Political Science Review, 99*(1), February 2005, 75-92. For an instructive treatment of persistent inequalities and their interplay with human agency, see Catriona Mackenzie and Natalie Stoljar, *Relational Autonomy*, 3-31.

22. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 201-202.

23. Irene Browne and Joya Misra, "The Intersection of Gender and Race in the Labor Market," *Annual Review of Sociology, 29*, 2003, 12.

24. It must also be remembered that resistance is not always survival. In certain periods, activists may even valorize forms of resistance that are, at best, quixotic, and at worst, suicidal. I am indebted to Cleveland, Ohio educator and feminist activist, Norm Jean Freeman, for this insight shared in conversations during the spring of 1971 at the Friendly Inn Settlement House.

25. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 2001. See also *You May Plow Here: The Narrative of Sara Brooks*, ed. Thordis Simonsen, with a Foreword by Robert Coles, 1986. I am very grateful to Thordis Simonsen for her gracious sharing of reflections on her personal and scholarly relationship with Mrs. Sara Brooks. I am also indebted to Reynelda Ware Muse for her assistance in making contact with Ms. Simonsen, a long-time friend.

26. Ibid., 202. Feminist Stanlie M. James has also sought to develop this point in her thought-provoking essay, "Mothering: A Possible Link to Social Transformation?" See *Theorizing Black Feminisms: The Visionary Pragmatism of Black Women*, eds. Stanlie M. James and Abena P. A. Busia, 1993, 44-54. See also Karen Brodkin Sacks, "What's A Life Story Got To Do With It?" in *Interpreting Women's Lives: Feminist Theory and Personal Narratives*, eds. The Personal Narratives Group, 1989, 85-95.

27. Iris Marion Young, "Political Theory: An Overview," in *A New Handbook of Political Science*, eds. Robert E. Goodin and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, 1998, 479-481.

28. This point is central to the discussions of Collins, Kelley, Cohen, and Brenner noted above. For example, Kelley has written quite persuasively that:

> If we are going to write a history of black working-class resistance, where do we place the vast majority of people who did not belong to either 'working-class organizations or black political movements? A lot of black working people struggled and survived without direct links to the kinds of organizations that dominate historical accounts of African-American or U.S. working-class resistance.
>
> The so-called margins of struggle, whether it is the unorganized, often spontaneous battles with authority or social movements thought to be inauthentic or unrepresentative of the 'community's interests,' are really a fundamental part of the larger story waiting to be told. (p. 4)

29. Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*, 10-11.

30. Ibid., xiii.

31. Feminist scholars have noted that it is difficult, if not impossible, for oppressed women and men to act in completely autonomous ways amidst the ever-present constraints of their oppressions. Nevertheless, oppressed women, and men, often demonstrate remarkable capacities to be self-defining and self-determining. See Catriona Mackenzie and Natalie Stoljar, *Relational Autonomy*.

32. Prior to the establishment of a union, the workplaces of study subjects sometimes functioned in very authoritarian ways. In such environments, being viewed as "impudent" or "out of one's place" could easily be used as a pretext for terminating the offending workers. Once a union was established, however; the determination of offenses that could result in terminations would come under stricter scrutiny, in accordance with a contractual agreement between the employer(s) and the union established by the democratic vote of the workers in a particular bargaining unit. In such a unionized environment, a worker might well be viewed by supervisors as impudent, but not as insubordinate.

33. Carol Gilligan, "In a Different Voice: Women's Conceptions of Self and Morality," in *Feminist Social Thought*, ed. Diana Tietjens Meyers, 1997, 549.

34. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*, 72-96.

35. Ibid., 73.

36. Ibid., 93. See also Karla Holloway, "The Body Politic," in *Codes of Conduct: Race, Ethics, and the Color of Our Character*, 1995, 15-71.

37. Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness*, 52-53. See also Maxine Baca Zinn, "Feminist Rethinking from Racial-Ethnic Families," in *Women of Color in U.S. Society*, eds. Maxine Baca Zinn and Bonnie Thornton Dill, 1994, 303-314.

38. Patricia Hill Collins, *Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice*, 1998, 44.

39. See Carol B. Stack, "Different Voices, Different Visions: Gender, Culture, and Moral Reasoning," in Zinn and Dill, 1994, 291-301; *You May Plow Here: The Narrative of Sara Brooks*, ed. Thordis Simonsen, 1986; Bonnie Thornton Dill, "Fictive Kin, Paper Sons, and Compadrazgo: Women of Color and the Struggle for Family Survival," in Zinn and Dill, 149-169; and *African American Single Mothers: Understanding Their Lives and Families*, ed. Bette J. Dickerson, 1995.

40. Nancy C.M. Hartsock, "The Feminist Standpoint: Developing the Ground for a Specifically Feminist Historical Materialism," in *Discovering Reality: Feminist Perspectives on Epistemology, Metaphysics, Methodology, and Philosophy of Science*, eds. Sandra Harding and Merrill B. Hintikka, 1983, 286. For a more comprehensive exploration of her argument, see also Hartsock's *Money, Sex, and Power* and *The Feminist Standpoint Revisited and Other Essays*.

41. I encountered a most disturbing set of examples of this problem in connection with union policy and worker attitudes toward overtime when I arrived in the steel-mill town of Gary, Indiana in the latter half of the 1990s. I was unaware of the problem until it was first brought to my attention by my Labor Studies colleague, Ruth Needleman.

42. Diana T. Meyers, "Agency," in Jaggar and Young, 375. See also Carol Gilligan, "Moral Orientation and Moral Development," in *Women and Moral Theory*, eds. Eve Kittay and Diana T. Meyers, 1987.

43. Political scientist Dorian Warren (2003) has defined "political capital" as "the ability of people to act together to exercise power in the face of opposition." See "A New Labor Movement for a New Century? The Incorporation and Representation of

Marginalized Workers in U. S. Unions." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, August, Philadelphia.

44. For an example of such literature, see Albelda and Tilly, 1997, and Sidel, 1986.

45. This insight was shared with this researcher by Mrs. Josephine Wallace Iverson shortly before her death in 1998.

46. Karen Brodkin Sacks, "What's A Life Story Got To Do with It?" in *Interpreting Women's Lives*, eds. The Personal Narrative Group, 1989, 85-95.

47 Ibid., 92.

48. Ibid., 94.

49. SEIU, the Service Employees' International Union, is one of the largest and (comparatively speaking) one of the most politically progressive unions in the United States today. Notwithstanding its well-established reputation as an activist union that fights for its very diverse membership; SEIU is also one of the most controversial of unions with respect to matters of internal democracy. If problems of internal democracy loom large within one of the best unions in the country, such problems raise the need for careful considerations of how unionism is generally confronting such challenges. This disturbing fact has been gleaned by this researcher from his years of employment as a health-and-safety organizer for SEIU; from documents describing the evolution of the historic split within the AFL-CIO in 2005; and from anecdotal evidence provided by labor educators at the May, 2005 Annual Conference of the United Association of Labor Educators in Philadelphia, PA.

50. I am very grateful to SEIU trade union leader Alice Bush for sharing this information with me during a December 2005 interview. The establishment of tier-systems by U.S. employers has been one of the most insidious ploys adopted during capital's decisive turn toward neoliberalism. The establishment of such a workplace system means that new employees who perform the same job duties as older employees can be paid less and provided fewer and/or less benefits, such as health coverage and pensions. In developing such differential—and punitive—systems, employers have seized upon existing differences between workers and exacerbated them within the union context. This has repeatedly set in motion an extremely corrosive process which ultimately undermines the meaning and potential of unionism itself. Alice Bush noted that she and Lorenzo Crowell had been trying to prepare workers to challenge this system within Methodist Hospital for more than a decade.

51. Interview with Alice Bush, December 2005.

52. Former SEIU trade unionist Suzan Erem has written quite pointedly regarding the role played by officials such as Tom Balanoff in Chicago-area unionism in her 2002 publication, *Labor Pains*. I am very thankful to my colleague and friend, Nancy Rae Sovereign, for this reference.

53. As one of SEIU's most highly-touted "leaders," Tom Balanoff (who comes from a highly respected Northwest Indiana family of labor and social justice activists) openly expressed his belief that generally, workers don't gain anything from striking. In advocating this position, Balanoff was taking a stance that left workers with little recourse except abject compliance with the anti-union demands of a hostile management. This viewpoint has become characteristic of neoliberal labor officials since the 1970s, but it was a position rejected by Gary workers and their most trusted union organizers during the 2000 strike against Methodist Hospital.

54. When workers begin to doubt the efficacy of collective struggle(s) against employers, they will most likely revert to more individualistic, "go-it-alone" approaches in their workplaces.

55. One of the objectives most deliberately pursued by U.S. employers since the 1970s has been the decertification of existing unions. Decertification not only return a "free hand" to employers to be more "flexible" vis-à-vis workforces; but they further undermine workers and unionism because an existing union is legally prohibited for a specific period of time from attempting to reorganize a bargaining unit in which it has been decertified. During this period, workers are literally at the mercy of employers, and often become irreparably dispirited. Moreover, when a major employer such as Methodist Hospital can achieve the decertification of a union, this has a profoundly chilling effect on unionization efforts and wage (and benefit) levels in other area workplaces.

56. The imposition of a black woman as president over the newly amalgamated local (joining a very large number of workers from both Indiana and Illinois workplaces) raised some serious matters of race, class, and gender to which we shall return in the concluding chapter of this study. For the present, it will suffice to note that (1) the imposition of Pia Davis as president was clearly done without the democratic voice and vote of Gary workers; and (2) despite her being an African-American, Pia Davis did not win the confidence and support of leaders such as Louella, Marion, Bernita, Wilma, and the mostly-black membership from Gary. The astute observer will undoubtedly raise questions about Tom Balanoff.

57. This researcher was permitted to participate in this campaign as a participant observer.

58. It is important to note that part of the difficulty in realizing the second objective of the "Members First" campaign was that the politics of that campaign

emerged within the larger context of SEIU's national political agenda; in which the struggle of SEIU President Andy Stern and other national union officials against John Sweeney's AFL-CIO was unfolding.

59. Iris Marion Young, "Political Theory: An Overview," in *A New Handbook of Political Science*, eds. Robert E. Goodin and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, 1996, 485-486.

60. The challenges of developing, negotiating, and monitoring union contracts has always been one of the most important, yet least understood, aspects of trade unionism. Given the sea changes that have occurred economically, politically, and legally since the 1970s; the terrain on which unionists meet employers and managers is drastically different. Lynette's reflections regarding contract language (i.e., the actual wording of contractual regulations and procedures) speak to some of the central problems confronting U.S. trade unionism in an evolving neoliberal environment.

61. Young, "Political Theory: An Overview," 479ff.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation case study has revealed several notable findings. In this concluding chapter we will identify those findings, discuss their significance, consider their contributions to existing literature, and explore the implications of the findings for teaching and research.

Research Findings

This research project has shown that the fifteen black women subjects of the study experienced various kinds of discrimination and injustice in their health care workplaces during the period under investigation, the years from 1980 to 2000. These discriminations and injustices reflected the persistent impact of race, gender, and class as principles of social organization in daily employer decisions and practices regarding the organization and performance of workplace tasks; wages; training opportunities; evaluations; promotions; employer-employee relations; and employee benefits. Inequities and injustices due to race, class, and gender were also evident at times in the subjects' experiences with their co-workers on the job; and within the union in which all of the subjects were members during some of their years of service. Two of the principle expectations of this case study were that the research would not only indicate the existence of multiple forms of discrimination in the subjects' workplaces; but also that the subjects would express some awareness of those multiple forms, albeit in varying

ways that might privilege one form (such as race or class) over others (such as gender). The research project provided considerable validation of these expectations. The subjects' reports of their experiences indicate that while all the women clearly acknowledged workplace problems due to race, and sometimes class; the subjects generally expressed their understandings of injustice and discrimination in different and complex ways that seemed to weigh race, class and gender unequally. At times (as in the initial taped conversation with Alter Jean Moss), a subject might completely deny having had an experience of discrimination, only to later acknowledge such an experience. In other instances (as with both Bernita Drayton and Wilma Autry), subjects affirmed their experiences of injustice; but they were unsure about how they wanted to label those experiences. At other times (as with Anna Dixon), a subject might readily acknowledge the existence of a particular type of discrimination within a workplace; but would note that while others had experienced that injustice, she had not. Some of the subjects (such as Louella Wallace and Priscella Wilson) reported that they had experienced not only injustices due to race and class, but gender discrimination as well. A few of the workers (again, Wallace and Wilson) described their experiences with multiple forms of discrimination (that is, with race, class, and gender injustices) in the same workplace. Generally speaking, however; the research project shows that while the subjects often understood their unjust workplace conditions, their labors, themselves, and their abilities to resist injustices quite differently from the ways in which many of their supervisors and co-workers understood them; there was neither a well-developed nor pervasive understanding among the subjects of how their workplace experiences were conjointly

shaped by multiple forms of discrimination. The research also showed that the subjects' understandings of themselves, of justice and injustice, and of right and wrong actions, were not merely reflective of their immediate workplace conditions; but were complex accumulations of hard-won life lessons and the political and social currents of the period. That notwithstanding, the project revealed no instances in which an inability to label an injustice or to offer academic theorizations of workplace oppressions prevented subjects from recognizing their unjust treatment within unjust power relations and crafting a strategy to respond.

The research project underscored linkages between the pervasive worksite inequities of power reported by subjects and the oppressive climate in Gary and Northwest Indiana generated between 1970 and 2000 by white racial backlash, capital flight and restructuring, benign neglect and emerging new right retrenchment, and the ebbing efficacy of Black Power initiatives. A central feature of these convergent political and economic storms was the increasing incorporation, on the local and regional level, of black women in low-wage service work. This incorporation process gravely undermined the subjects' access to sufficient resources to support their families and themselves.

The study further reveals that as the subjects individually and collectively confronted the conditions of their workplaces, they crafted and carried out a range of strategies which they deemed necessary for their resistance and survival in the unequal power relations on the job. The activities and relationships to which the subjects committed themselves can be broadly categorized as workplace strategies and household/family strategies. Within their workplaces, the subjects' strategies were

intended: (1) to defend and support themselves as individuals ("speaking up on one's behalf"), (2) to defend and support their co-workers, (3) to make immediate improvements in worksite conditions, and (4) to build and consolidate other workers' support for collective struggle and unionism[1] in the workplace. Within their households and families, strategies were intended to help subjects establish arrangements with family members, fictive kin, and neighbors to insure that familial and workplace obligations would be met.

This case study has clearly indicated the importance of understanding the subjects' strategies as political, and not merely social and economic. In other words, the strategies chosen by the women did not simply involve them in networks with other workers, family members, and neighbors; nor were their strategies simply designed to help these women workers participate in gainful employment.[2] The strategies should be understood as having a definite political aspect because they provided the women with resources and support that enabled them to understand, endure, oppose, and at times change the unequal power relations of their jobs. This is not to say, however; that the individual subjects had well-developed understandings of their specific strategies as political. The women saw themselves enmeshed within situations that seemed unfair; situations in which they had to deal with employers and supervisors with greater workplace power than they possessed as individual employees. The subjects' strategies were generally grounded in their views regarding their needs and abilities (e.g., respect on the job, durable gloves for safer care and handling of patients, liveable wages, and an established and transparent grievance procedure), the needs of patients (e.g., anti-

bacterial soaps and medicated creams), and/or the needs of the subjects' families (e.g., liveable wages and health insurance). As in the case of Alter Jean Moss, the strategy of helping her mother secure a job on a different shift at Wildwood Nursing Home (where Jean worked) enabled both women (who also lived together) to pool their living resources, care for Jean's children, and support the 1988-89 strike in a variety of ways. The strategy to help build the Service Employees' International Union (SEIU) at Methodist Hospital—a strategy chosen by all of the subjects—was clearly political in that it enabled the women and their co-workers to organize themselves as a bargaining unit[3] and eventually unionize one of the Northwest Indiana Region's most anti-worker and anti-union employers.

The research showed that while the subjects' adopted strategies were neither always successful, nor even always collectively understood as "political;" the strategies were nonetheless effective in helping the women to make adjustment in the existing workplace relations of power. Such adjustments included: (1) affirming and developing respect for themselves in their workplaces; (2) making needed adjustments in occupational regimens; (3) expanding the role of workers' participation in worksite decision-making; (4) improving the care of their patients; (5) increasing wages and other monetary benefits; and (6) establishing and/or buttressing protections of workers vis-à-vis their employers and supervisory personnel. The strategies adopted by the subjects often differed from the preferred options of co-workers and management; and in a number of cases, subject strategies even challenged the analyses and action plans of union officials. Indeed, the individual and collective strategies of the subjects showed that all of the

women workers demonstrated qualities of leadership without which certain improvements in their workplaces and unions would have been very unlikely, and perhaps impossible.

Regarding the crucial question of black working-class women's agency, the research showed that subjects demonstrated both care-based and oppositional-based strategies. Strategies grounded in care tended to reflect the thinking and actions of women who sought to respond to their patients and co-workers to prevent harm and maintain positive relationships. Strategies grounded in opposition largely reflected the intentions of workers to address arbitrary, unfair, and exploitative worksite conditions by opposing and/or modifying them. The research showed that the subjects' strategies often could not be defined solely as either care-based or opposition-based; but tended to reflect both types of ethical approaches, and sometimes simultaneously. At times, these ethical stances contributed to the subjects demonstrating a basic understanding of unionism that seems more expansive and inclusive than much of the official unionism[4] in the United States today. We shall explore this question further in the next section.

Regarding the subjects' efforts to respond to the challenges of workplace and home; the research project revealed that the competing duties, responsibilities, and expectations of the women at their jobs and in their homes often exerted contradictory effects (sometimes constraining, sometimes enabling) on their abilities to act effectively (and as they would have liked) in the arenas of waged and unwaged labors. These contradictory effects sometimes strained the women's capacities to navigate the unequal power relations in which they performed their workplace labors.

This case study has shown that by crafting and carrying out their chosen strategies for survival and resistance, the black women subjects have made significant contributions to their workplaces, their union organization, their households, and their community. Although black working-class women are generally regarded, in the region and in U.S. society, as actors having relatively little impact on the world of politics; these women workers have acted, and continue to act, in ways that challenge, improve, and sometimes change the power relations in their workplaces and communities.

The Significance of the Findings

This dissertation has focused on two broad questions. The first question the project has addressed is the question of how African-American working-class women in Gary, Indiana effectively responded to race, gender, and class injustices within their health care workplaces during the critical historical period from 1980 to 2000. The second question is whether a black feminist intersectional approach might more effectively illuminate the working-class efforts to address power reflected in the survival and resistance strategies adopted by the study subjects. In considering the significance of the research findings, we shall examine various findings in light of the foregoing questions.

The survival and resistance strategies reported by African-American women workers in this study pose significant challenges to contemporary academic and popular understandings of inequalities, power, and who can be political. Political theorist Jane Flax has addresses this problematic state of affairs in her 1998 exploration of contemporary U.S. politics, *The American Dream in Black and White*:

> Our country affirms its commitment to a race- and gender-blind society. Yet at the same time, the effects of race and gender...in contemporary America remain inescapable. Race and gender define; they continue to determine how Americans are variously privileged or subordinated. Despite the thousands of volumes, speeches, legislative acts, efforts of organizations, executive orders, judicial remedies, town meetings, task forces, and commission reports, inequalities persist. Why has the American political system been unable to eliminate these inequalities? I see two important reasons. First, America's political institutions have depended for their legitimacy on the notion of a particular ideal subject. This American subject is an abstract individual. How can this representation always be accurate? It cannot. Despite the surface abstraction, the normative American citizen has always been a white man and, though others have won rights, he remains so...Second, our existing definitions of race and gender are inadequate to grasp their simultaneous, interdependent, and mutually forming effects. To treat race and gender as independent social relations is a persistent error...This inevitably produces a deeply flawed account...Neither race nor gender is extrinsic to the other.[5]

If U.S. political scholars have generally failed to understand the racialized and gendered character of political actors, Paul Frymer has provided credible evidence of the critical difficulties U.S. political scholars have had in understanding the racialized character of the institutions in which political actors act. Frymer notes that "most political scientists are in agreement that racism is at its root an individual psychological attitude, an irrational prejudice, that stems from feelings of resentment and animus toward others or from a desire to create group status hierarchies...."[6] Yet, as Frymer readily admits, if scholars' categories and levels of analysis lead them away from the contexts of U.S. institutions (including workplaces), then those scholars will not be able to adequately determine why some political and social actors act in ways that maintain and/or augment racialized (and gendered) relations of institutional power.[7] Indeed, they will also be less capable of explaining why other actors deem the rules, procedures, and structures of an institution as racially unjust.

Given the theoretical and analytical problems described by Flax and Frymer, black women service workers like the women of this study would appear to be actors of little consequence. Yet the reported strategies of the study subjects directly challenge this view. The strategies of the subjects, and the changes they engendered, indicate that these black women demonstrated keen understandings of power relations and noteworthy capacities to survive, oppose, and change the race, class, and gender relations in their workplaces. Their successful strategies indicate the need for rethinking current notions of "the political," and for new conceptualizations of "who can be political."[8] The strategies also provide some insight into the potential power that workers can develop within their workplace cultures.

Karen Brodkin Sacks identified the concept of "workplace culture" in *Caring by the Hour*, her study of the struggles of African-American workers for unionization at Duke Medical Center during the 1970s. In a follow-up essay[9] elaborating her initial findings, Sacks explains how black women workers at Duke had developed "an informal work culture" which had enabled them to create and sustain social networks within their workplace. According to Sacks, "that culture centered on reinforcing family-based values to validate women's view of their work as requiring both mental and organizational skills."[10] Sacks's concept provides a useful point of departure for understanding the strategies of the subjects of this study because their reported experiences indicate how similar workplace cultures evolved in the subjects' various workplaces. Employed in occupational categories in which their daily health care tasks were virtually identical with aspects of their socially-reproductive labors in their

households and community networks; the subjects of Sacks's study were able to establish individual and collective understandings of their labors that made them feel that their workplace labors were necessary, challenging, and worthy of respect. Somewhat similarly, the Gary health care workers also developed networks and workplace understandings that made them regard patients (to paraphrase Edna Barden, Jean Moss, and Theresa Brown) "like family." Study subjects also indicated that they viewed themselves, individually and collectively, as caring, responsible, and competent workers who were worthy of respect. Yet the similarities between the daily work cultures in Sacks's study and those in the present study are not limited to the similarities between workers and their socially-reproductive tasks. The similarity is also political.

This becomes clear when we consider that the Duke workers and the Gary workers developed workplace networks, understandings, and identities that validated them "as responsible and competent adults," despite their oppressive conditions in their communities and their subordination at their jobs.[11] These workplace networks and understandings of their labors provided workers with support and self-conceptions that potentially enabled (and obliged) them to oppose the demeaning characterizations and practices of supervisors and management. Sacks carefully noted that the catalyst within the Duke workplace; the "factor" that turned a set of relationships and ideas into a force empowering workers to struggle, was the particular role played by key women workers, or "centerwomen," within the existing networks.[12] These "centerwomen" were recognized leaders; workers who demonstrated leadership by their abilities to keep people connected, inspired, and focused on workplace issues with a particular language

and understanding that captured key elements of power relations in ways that were accessible to others in the networks. In this sense, the centerwomen were those who articulated the issues and concerns of their co-workers and were viewed as necessary for any initiatives to be successful. In the present study, this researcher also encountered women workers who deserve the title of "centerwomen." In fact, each of the subjects, with varying skills and sensibilities, served as bridges between co-workers, as agitators, as articulators of ideas and ideals, and as nurturers for the activism of others. These were the workers to whom others looked to determine whether a particular initiative was worthy of their support.[13] These were the workers from whom others gained inspiration, direction, and support at moments when, left to themselves, they might have quit a particular struggle.

Political scientist Dorian Warren has recently developed work that builds upon Sacks's conception of work culture and relates to the strategies demonstrated in this study. Warren's concept of "political capital" addresses the network of politicized relationships and ideas in a workplace and/or union that enable workers to stand together and oppose injustice.[14] His concept of "political capital" calls for scholarship and activism that reaches beyond mere recognition of the more internally-focused networks and ideals of workers identified by Sacks's notion of workplace culture to the more externally-focused "skills, norms, and cognitive understandings about how to challenge unjust power relations."[15] Such a shift requires efforts to question workplace educational and organizational initiatives to more deliberately assess their potential for enabling workers to contend for power against both employers and opportunist[16] union officials.

Warren's work also underscores the importance of strategies such as those demonstrated by the subjects of this study by raising the question of how workers in workplaces and unions come to understand and build politicized networks to continually fight to win and consolidate power. While Warren's call to closely examine the ways in which unions and workers can more effectively develop such politically-conscious networks is beyond the scope of this study; his work nonetheless focuses attention on the need to consider how the subjects' strategies addressed the matter of power. These strategies reveal two distinct notions of power,[17] which a number of feminist scholars have previously explored. One notion has been the customary approach to thinking about power in which having power means "power over;" i.e., having the capacity to dominate, and the ability to compel others to do things they might not wish to do. The study subjects described numerous experiences with this notion of power, and at times, their own strategies were intended to model this conception; albeit without the subjects necessarily being explicit about their understandings. Yet the strategies have also revealed another conception, one in which the subjects (as dominated and marginalized political actors) have sought to augment one another's agency, or one another's capacity to think and act on behalf of oneself and/or others similarly positioned within a given social location. Admittedly, this notion of power has much less currency than the notion of "power over." Yet this enabling view of power is one that has been emphasized by the subjects of this study; and it is one to which scholars often refer as more reflective of the socialization and expectations of women within a patriarchal society. In this discussion, the enabling view of power becomes important because its expression within the subjects' strategies

indicates that the subjects were quite capable of acting on the basis of more than one understanding of power. The enabling view is also important because it underscores the demonstration of both care-based and oppositional-based agency among the subjects. In other words, the strategies confirm that these black women workers were moral and political agents who clearly demonstrated their capacities for making complex and nuanced judgments regarding right and wrong in ways that sometimes complied with existing workplace regimens; and at other times opposed and successfully altered them. Additionally, the subject strategies raise the question of how the subjects, organizers, and committed scholars might more effectively enable workers to develop explicit discussions of their own understandings of power. Moreover, these strategies suggest that perhaps scholars would do well to recognize care-based agency and opposition-based agency as both positive, and at times necessary, expressions of working women's agency.[18] The strategies of study subjects showed that both forms were evident in the workplace lives of all the women. Their experiences suggest the value of a both/and (rather than an either/or) approach to evident forms of agency.

Even as the subjects' strategies challenge dominant notions of who can be political, they also confirm the need for political scientists to rethink dominant notions about where "legitimate" political struggles can be found. The urgency of this rethinking has been incisively summarized by feminist scholars Ann Bookman and Sandra Morgen in their 1988 essay, "Rethinking Women and Politics:"

> It is our view that although it is important to examine the roles of women and the values they express in the electoral arena, it will not allow us to comprehend fully working-class women's political worlds. The structure of our political and economic system is such that working-class women

> and men cannot rely on the culturally legitimated realm of electoral politics to work in their best interest. The narrow distribution of political power in this country reflects the concentration of economic resources and power in the hands of wealthy individuals and corporations...Until we broaden our definition of politics to include the everyday struggle to survive and to change power relations in our society, working-class women's political action will remain obscured.[19]

The experiences of the study subjects indicate that in addition to focusing scholarly attention on institutions of governance and electoral battles for the votes of spectator-citizens; scholars will do well to give much more careful and sustained examination to the workplaces in which millions of working-class actors spend so much of their lives confronting the domination of capital. As the study subjects' reports confirm, health care workplaces can very often be places where the undemocratic and authoritarian control of employers and supervisory personnel is no less exacting than the recurring exploitation of workers' productive (and reproductive) capacities. The subjects' successes in improving the care of their patients and their own daily conditions during a period of increasing employer control—over workers, their labors, and costs—warrant the sustained attention of scholars. During the past several decades, political theorists have intermittently engaged in such scholarship, helping to establish democratic speech and citizen participation as analytical categories.[20] One of the most notable of these theorists has been Carole Pateman, whose *Participation and Democratic Theory* (1970) argued that social equality is a prerequisite for democratic participation, while democratic participation engenders social equality.[21] Thus, for scholars of politics, (as Iris M. Young puts it) "the sites of democratic participation must include social institutions beyond the state in which people's actions are directly involved, particularly the workplace."[22]

If the strategies and ideas of the subjects underscore the need for more careful examinations of workplaces and the day-to-day struggles of workers; they also confirm the need for thorough examinations of the ways in which unions help and/or hinder the organization and politicization of workers—especially those who are women of color M. Bahati Kuumba's *Gender and Social Movements* has argued cogently that it is often the strategies of resistance of such women that remain unexamined and devalued:

> Recently scholars and activists have begun to document the more subtle and everyday forms of resistance that are continuously used by oppressed people to challenge actual and/or perceived injustice from established authority structures...These less organized or coordinated forms of resistance to hegemonic power include everything from work slow-downs and noncompliance, to stealing and sabotage. Because of the gendered divisions in many societies and movements, some of the resistance strategies engaged in by women as an outgrowth of their productive and reproductive labor are the very ones that are submerged and hidden. The vital contribution of these less visible strategies to revolutionary and resistance movements is not always obvious and, consequently, have been often neglected and devalued.[23]

Like the reflections of several study subjects, Kuumba's insights are helpful because they draw attention to the very disturbing issue of how the training and practices of movements and organizations of the oppressed can reproduce the same kinds of power dynamics that they are supposed to be opposing and/or transforming. Her critical concerns are incisively echoed in Sharon Kurtz's work in *Workplace Justice*. Kurtz offers a scathing critique of how the U.S. trade union movement continues to reproduce various forms of domination, privilege, and subordination within its union organizations. Her scholarly treatment of this matter underscores another reason the strategies of the Gary women are important. Like Kuumba, Kurtz has observed a regrettable reality:

> In the name of unity and in the effort to defeat injustice, social movements have most often developed a "lowest-common-denominator" politics in which organizing occurs around the common injustice that everyone is said to share. This single-identity framework has excluded many and left their experiences of oppression on the margin. The problem is that—our fictions, our myths...to the contrary—oppression does not come in single and universal categories....Intersectionality theory...argues that there are multiple systems of domination that define one another. Each one is shaped by and shapes the others...No single one of them—not class, gender, race, or sexuality—is primary or universal in the quest for liberation. Rather, the conditions that social movements challenge are shaped by the interaction of these many systems of domination. Not getting this, or not being able to put this concept into action, has been a problem of both liberation theory and practice...Movements then themselves become the agents of injustice. These are the dangers of an incomplete vision...[24]

These resistance strategies not only help to show the unequal power relations and injustices so prevalent in Northwest Indiana health care workplaces. They also highlight the education and the degree of internal democracy the women workers experienced within their unions; issues that indicate certain strengths and perennial weaknesses in many U.S. unions today.

In their reflections on how they became active in their unions, several of the study subjects note that their earliest union experiences were with the 1199 Hospital Workers' Union. This is a telling reflection, because 1199 has a rich history of having been one of the few U.S. unions to embody the ideals, and some practices, of both the trade union and civil rights movements. Kurtz describes this achievement:

> In the late 1950s and the 1960s, Local 1199 organized thousands of hospital workers in campaigns that were projects of both the labor and civil rights move-ments. The union was no stranger to work in the civil rights movement: Local 1199 had supported the Montgomery boycott and had become a friend of Martin Luther King, Jr., who called 1199 'my favorite union'...These hospital campaigns, first in New York City and later in Charleston, South Carolina, are interesting case studies in organizing that integrated race, class, and gender politics, although the

> latter was rarely made explicit. In 1959, Local 1199, Retail Drug Employees, began organizing the workers in New York City's Voluntary hospitals—as opposed to for-profit or public hospitals.[25]

Even its earliest incarnation, 1199 was emerging as a union in which African-American and Puerto Rican workers felt that that they did not have to completely deny their racial-ethnic identities, or their links with their racial-ethnic communities and social movements, in order to fight as workers for justice in their workplaces. This is a detail of considerable relevance to our understanding of the early trade union education received by the subjects of this study. The emerging ethos of 1199, which integrated (to some extent) the ideals and movement practices of both the civil rights and trade union movements, was reflected in the early training which Edna, Charlotte, Anna, Alter Jean, and Mildred received. This training emphasized rank-and-file participation and internal union democracy in ways that profoundly shaped the activism of these women as well as their influence on their co-workers.[26] Yet while the 1199 ethos and approaches to union education were relatively positive with respect to the coupling of class and race, as well as the emphasis on rank-and-file leadership development; the union was quite similar to other unions in its treatment of gender and women. Kurtz notes that:

> [T]he gendered nature of the struggle was little acknowledged. As District 1199's president Leon Davis later came to note of labor broadly, 'There is not sufficient appreciation or understanding among the leaders of organized labor' of the role of women in the workforce. He went on to 'attribute the lack of success in organizing workers to our inability to adjust to this challenge....Our attitude towards women is too often the same as management's....' Whereas Davis identified the union's shortcomings in understanding the role of women in the workforce, he did not apply any similar understanding to the structure of male power in the upper echelons of union leadership, over which he long presided. The legacy of 1199's white male leadership, it's centralized constitution, and the top leaders' private meetings and shared history in Left

> organizations...created enormous obstacles to any nonwhite or nonmale or nonleftist aspiring to leadership in the union....[27]

This brief sketch of 1199 history provides insights that help to clarify the rather contradictory union experiences within which some of the study subjects gained their earliest knowledge of trade unionism. The combined influences of their earlier life experiences during the years of the powerful Civil Rights and Black Power Movements; and the training these subjects received in 1199, indelibly shaped the subjects as potential leaders in some of the struggles they would later encounter. These formative influences also equipped them to weather the turbulent merger between 1199 and SEIU that would reinforce some silences regarding gender, race, and internal union democracy, while strengthening the new union's capacity for organizing a populous and diverse segment of U.S. health care workers.

Notwithstanding all of the considerable strengths of SEIU when compared with a number of other U.S. unions, the persistence within the union of race, class, gender inequalities inevitably affects the manner in which union officials adequately, or inadequately, address the needs and concerns of workers. Well-established white male officials like Ballanoff can sometimes reject criticisms of racism and/or sexism by simply suggesting that workers are "playing the race (or gender) card" and being divisive. Yet the problems noted by Louella Wallace and Johnnie Andrews regarding the 2000 strike against Methodist Hospital and the contentious amalgamation that followed[28] clearly indicated that the orientation and leadership approach of Tom Ballanoff (and the SEIU International) neither fully regarded the concerns and needs expressed by the workers nor fully engaged them in democratic deliberations regarding the resolution of the strike.

Such a top-down and undemocratic style of work, unfortunately, is not uncommon in SEIU,[29] although the union has certainly proven itself more inclusive in some instances than many other unions. It is important to note that in the case of the 2000 strike, the perceptions of Louella and Johnnie were shared by a number of workers. While Alice Bush and Prof. Lane focused their criticism more on the elitist and pro-company manner in which Ballanoff operated; the subjects' perceptions, and the interpretations given to those perceptions by a number of their co-workers, cannot be dismissed. Ballanoff's approach and actions reflect some of the most debilitating kinds of problems that workers—and especially women of color—must face when they become actively involved in their unions.[30] Louella and her co-workers successfully mounted the Members First Campaign in order to address some of the aftermath of the strike, that is, the undemocratic "appointment" by Ballanoff and the International of Pia Davis as president of the amalgamated local into which Louella and her Methodist co-workers were placed. Although that rank-and-file campaign was remarkably successful, the workers' strategy nonetheless confronted more issues than they could resolve at the time. Thus, the problem of white male privilege and power within union spaces continues to present SEIU workers with enormous challenges, especially in the wake of the historic split in the AFL-CIO, which was largely orchestrated by SEIU National President, Andy Stern.

The problems of persistent inequalities in union structures and procedures are closely related to the "single-identity framework" underlined by Kurtz. The strategies and reflections of the study subjects challenge the particular way(s) in which this

framework was reflected in SEIU because they indicate that workers who are located differently from white males and females very often have formative and day-to-day experiences that shape their individual and collective identities in decidedly different ways than the ways in which the identities of white workers have been shaped.[31] While some scholars and activists have dismissed questions of identity formation and influence as mere unfortunate distractions of "identity politics" from serious questions of movement building and "class" struggle;[32] the relationship between social location and social identity goes to the heart of the matter of how a diverse group of workers (in a workplace and/or union) can build movements that can reflect the experiences of all; while also learning how to build the movement's demands, ideology, culture, leadership, and organizational structures in ways that build upon the varied experiences of the workers within the unit?[33] Given the very positive role played for several years by Alice Bush, Lynette Smith, and Lorenzo Crowell in the education, mobilization, and servicing of members of both 1199 and SEIU (following the merger of 1199 and SEIU); the workplace initiatives and internal union structures and procedures—the union local's identity—often seemed to positively reflect the experiences and most pressing concerns of the largely black and female membership. This relatively positive state of affairs changed dramatically as changes were initiated within the local from beyond the boundaries of its membership and existing official leadership.

If the strategies and reflections of the study subjects further confirm the need for expanded notions of politics (that is, what it looks like and where it is situated); of who can be political; and of how workers can more effectively build unified struggles of

diverse groups of workers in workplaces and unions; what, if anything does the research of this study suggest regarding citizenship and participatory democracy? This is an important question simply because of the ideological and public policy treatment of working-class women of color during the past several decades. Public representations of black working-class women as sexually deviant and/or profligate, lazy, incompetent as producers and as parents, and prone to criminality has repositioned them within what Patricia Hill Collins has termed "the new politics of containment:"

> Institutionalized racism now demonstrates some curious contradictions—although neighborhoods, schools, and jobs are still highly segregated by race in the United States, growing numbers of whites no longer see racial segregation and its accompanying discrimination as producing these results...In an era of formal desegregation, African-American women confront a new politics of containment. This politics operates not by excluding Black women from formal citizenship via the threat of a return to legalized housing, educational, or employment discrimination. Rather, it functions through more sophisticated strategies of control that work *within* [emphasis in the original] the boundaries of formal American citizenship. Although social arrangements appear to be quite different higher education is desegregated, black images appear in the media, and blacks have even served in the Supreme Court social indicators of African-American women's disadvantage remain remarkably entrenched. Even though African-American women have rights of formal citizenship, they remain at the bottom of the social hierarchy.[34]

While Collins has emphasized the uniquely precarious limbo in which black working-class women find themselves as a result of the complex positioning of black people in a capitalist and patriarchal order that is relentlessly racist; Iris Marion Young accentuates the fact that neither black women nor African-Americans in general are alone as marginalized citizens in the United States:

> Now in the late twentieth century...when citizenship rights have been formally extended to all groups in liberal capitalist societies, some groups still find them-selves treated as second-class citizens. Social movements of oppressed and excluded groups have recently asked why extension of

> equal citizenship rights has not led to social justice and equality. Part of the answer is straightforwardly Marxist: those social activities that most determine the status of individuals and groups are anarchic and oligarchic; economic life is not sufficiently under the control of citizens to affect the unequal status and treatment of groups.[35]

The societal constraints broadly discussed by Collins and Young summarize the conditions faced by the subjects of this case study. Those conditions notwithstanding, however; these fifteen women have demonstrated their commitments to justice, fairness, integrity, respect for the dignity of oneself and other persons, democratic deliberation, community, and personal and collective activism in the interest of the collective good in both their workplaces and their communities. Their strategies, even when not totally effective, have contributed to the development and maintenance of more humane places of employment; and the nurturing of skills and sensibilities that scholars so often associate with citizenship in a democratic society. It would seem that much might be learned from the participation of such working-class women that could further inform current discussions and debates on "civic engagement" and how it can most effectively be nurtured.

The scholarly insights of Adolph Reed are helpful in posing a final question regarding the significance of the strategies and reflections of the subjects of this study: What might be learned from the resistance and survival strategies of black women health care workers about building viable social movements for genuine justice and democracy beyond mere electoral spectatorship and voting? Reed, in his volume, *Class Notes*, has thrown down the gauntlet to scholars and activists (he directs his critical comments to African-Americans, but they might as easily be directed to other embattled groups) who

purport to nurture the building of such viable movements, not only for much-needed reforms, but for social transformation as well. With the irreverent and implacable logic for which much of his work has become known, Reed attacks what he refers to as "the brokerage model of politics," by which a number of so-called leaders promote themselves while maneuvering and politicking with powerful elites to represent the interests of more marginalized members of their group(s). Such "brokering" has long been accepted as useful and necessary amongst African-Americans, especially since the ebbing of the movements for civil rights and black power. Equating the "brokerage model" with opportunism, Reed argues that rather than strive to build viable movements from the top down, such movements must be built from the bottom up:

> We'll never be able to create the kind of movement we need until we can break with the mystifications and opportunism that tie activism to the bankrupt brokerage model of politics. The only possibly successful strategy is one based on genuinely popular, deliberative processes and concrete, interest-based organizing that connects with people's daily lives.[36]

Reed's call for a working-class politics grounded in struggles of working people in pursuit of their needs and vision, as well as their capacities for democratic deliberations underlines the very types of struggles in which the subjects of this study have been engaged. Their strategies and objectives provide evidence of both the necessity for understanding and nurturing such workplace and union battles for power; and the positive leadership of such struggles to be drawn from the working-class women (and men) who wage them. The women of this study have shown, and continue to show, that although political messiahs may woo them; they need no messiahs, since they know how to think and fight for themselves. The women of this study have demonstrated their abilities to

understand power; to nurture, organize and mobilize others to exercise it with expanding consciousness; to work at democracy and to let democracy work; to labor to consolidate victories; to question, and learn from, defeats; and to re-energize themselves and their co-workers to begin again, and again. They have also demonstrated an ability to learn how to distinguish mistakes from opportunism, and how to distinguish the real from the deal. The subjects have not acted as "politicians" in any traditional sense, but they have made important contributions without doing so. Their struggles, their capacity for growth, and their commitment to democratic pursuit of justice call attention to the wisdom of social justice stalwart, Ella Baker, who continuously called upon those engaged in struggles for civil and human rights to unhinge themselves and others from the belief in messianic leaders. Miss Baker's incisive argument, which social movement scholar Carol Mueller describes as reflective of Baker's belief in "group-centered leadership," encapsulates much of the potential that is represented in the strategies of the subjects of this study:

> First, there is a prerequisite: the recognition on the part of the established powers that people have a right to participate in the decisions that affect their lives. And it doesn't matter whether those decisions have to do with schools or housing or some other aspect of their lives. There is a corollary to this prerequisite: the citizens themselves must be conscious of the fact that this is their right. Then comes the question, how do you reach people if they aren't already conscious of this right? And how do you break down resistance on the part of powers that be toward citizens becoming participants in decision making? I don't have any cut pattern, except that I believe that people, when informed about the things they are concerned with, will find a way to react.[37]

Challenges Posed by the Study Findings

As with any case study, this research project has raised some unforeseen issues and questions. In several instances, the study findings pose challenges to existing

theorizations (or to certain flawed assumptions arising from theory) by African-American feminists as well as other women of color engaged in the projects of "U.S. Third World feminisms." In this section, we shall consider several of these challenges.

Black feminist theorists have often been much less explicit in their analyses of class than they have in their analyses of gender. Yet the subjects of this case study clearly confirm the inescapable effects of class as a social construct in black working women's daily lives. The workplace conditions reported by the subjects, their daily challenges in developing strategies that enabled them to more effectively confront those conditions, and their explicit articulations of their understandings about how class matters in their lives all attest to the need for feminists to further investigate and theorize about the interplay between class, gender, race, and sexuality. None of this is intended to suggest that the women of this study have expressed extremely developed views regarding class matters in African-American life, or in U.S. society as a whole. Their interview statements at times reveal their own ambivalences as well as their desire for greater understanding. Indeed, to expect that working-class study subjects would have developed sophisticated understandings of class and its relationship(s) to race, gender, and sexuality within a retrograde political epoch (and in black communities in which race is often privileged over class, gender, and/or sexuality) would be unrealistic, to say the least. Yet the black women workers of this study have clearly expressed and shown their concerns about the need to understand and strengthen the class locations and positions of working people in their industry, region, and country. These concerns pose the tasks of

further investigation and theoretical work to uncover, illuminate, and nurture the class consciousness of black women health care workers.

If the findings of this study raise questions regarding black feminist insights about class; the subjects' strategies and ideas also raise questions about the women's real understandings of gender. Black feminists have for decades argued for theorists and activists to acknowledge the ever-present significance of gender in the lives of black women. More recently, black feminists have become increasingly focused on the urgency of understanding the interrelations between multiple oppressions and the need to scrupulously avoid the construction of hierarchies of oppression. Despite their arduous efforts to engender understandings of simultaneity and intersectionality, however; Black feminists have also recognized the recurrent tendency of black people to view race as more significant than gender, or class, or sexuality. The reports of this study tend to confirm this unfortunate tendency. In numerous interviews and conversations with the subjects, this researcher has learned that while the subjects definitely have perceptive understandings of their daily gender challenges, as well as effectual strategies for addressing them; those understandings and strategies are neither always explicit nor as well-theorized as those articulated by many black feminists. In fact, the findings of this study tend to confirm the accuracy of the statement by one black feminist that "often we have to infer black women's thoughts about gender from what they do rather than from what they say."[38]

Even as the study findings confirm theoretical articulations regarding the saliency of race in black women's daily lives; they also suggest that black women's ideas about

race do not always conform to the theoretical insights of black feminists, or even conventional political science. Given black feminists' emphasis on the ways in which African-Americans tend to privilege race consciousness over the consciousness of other kinds of oppression, we might well be inclined to think that, if given the chance to choose, black women would probably seek a black female union president rather than a white female president. Such an idea would seem all the more plausible because of the well-known political and organizational disagreements that have occurred, historically and contemporarily, between white women and women of color.[39] Such an idea would also find currency within much conventional political science research on black politics and black political preferences. Yet the experience of black women workers in SEIU local unions in Chicago and Gary, Indiana indicate that it is very important to assess the complexities of black women's consciousness through concrete investigations of their actual conditions. When white male Chicago union leader Tom Ballanoff removed a white trade unionist and former nurse, Alice Bush, as President of Local 73-HC; and placed a black woman, Pia Davis, over a newly amalgamated Local 20 (which included members of Local 73-HC); black women were incensed. Having had considerable experience with Alice Bush, the black women (primarily located in and around Gary, Indiana) were convinced that she was a sincere ally as well as a militant and effective trade unionist. These women knew that Alice Bush had demonstrated her commitment to health care workers, and that she had consistently sought to help black workers empower themselves. This meant neither that Alice Bush was without her contradictions, nor that black workers always agreed with her approaches to solving problems.[40] But workers

also felt that they could trust Alice Bush. They felt no such inclinations to trust Pia Davis, who many believed did not have their interests at heart, but was merely aiding Tom Ballanoff in "controlling" a large local union with a large black population—while also using valuable union resources for her own ends.[41] The responses of workers to the "leadership" of Pia Davis, while fueled by both her opportunism and that of Ballanoff, were also clearly indicative of the fact that black women (and men) had seen Alice Bush as an ally with progressive race politics. The clear-cut choice of the study subjects, while reflecting their strong consciousness of the need for class activism for greater union democracy; is also reflective of how, in some instances, class considerations can loom more important than those of race and gender.

The reports of black women workers in this study raise yet another important consideration about the well-discussed binary of public and private spheres in much feminist theorizing of the past forty years. Many feminists have written insightfully about the oppressions of women within both of these spheres, underscoring the impossibility of distinguishing between that which is public and that which is private "because both are constituted by power relations..., relations which inscribe and perpetuate the power of men...."[42] Yet feminists of color have repeatedly emphasized the need to rethink the "public-private" dichotomy when analyzing communities, families, and households of color; and the experiences of the subjects of this study also indicate a need for rethinking certain "second-wave" theoretical articulations. Time and time again, as this researcher had discussions with study subjects, it became more evident that for many, if not all, of these workers, there is no substantive difference between the

social reproductive labors they perform for wages and those that they perform in their households and families—as unpaid labor. In other words, the work of caring for the physical and emotional needs of others, whether done for wages or done without remuneration, is not only difficult, but it is work that largely characterizes the labor performed by many black working-class women today in an economy that has become increasingly service-oriented, with low-wage jobs. This striking similarity between paid and unpaid labors for black working-class women (not to ignore Latinas and other women of color as well), provides telling evidence of the intersecting development of class, race, and gender contradictions that are central to the emergence and continued unfolding of neoliberalism.[43] The experiences reported by study subjects thus serve as reminders of the need for continuing investigations and efforts to explicate the ways in which black women, and other women of color experience the differences and similarities between "public" and "private" spheres in U.S. society.

Implications of the Study for Continued Research

During the course of this research project, several questions have arisen which have been beyond the scope of this investigation, but which warrant continued investigation as aspects of a research agenda. Although the use of a black feminist framework has been undeniably useful in helping with the framing and formulation of relevant questions and "hunches," the application of such a framework must be refined in empirical investigations. While this case study showed that the subjects clearly understood that they were experiencing discriminatory behaviors and injustices which they understood to be the result of race, class, and/or gender discriminations; the subjects

generally expressed their understandings of injustice and discrimination in different and complex ways that seemed to weigh race, class and gender unequally. Thus, one of the remaining questions to be investigated is how to more concretely determine how working women and men come to understand the impact of specific forms of discrimination on their workplace and community lives. Inextricably linked with this research challenge is another: how to determine how workers (can) come to understand the combined impact of multiple forms of discrimination on their lives. Each of these research questions beg a third: how to investigate the lived experiences of workers in their workplaces, unions, and communities) so as to more analytically distinguish the combined impact of multiple forms of discrimination. Stated somewhat more explicitly, "How can scholars better determine how the combined effects of race, gender, and class actually occur in labor markets, workplaces, and communities?" This third research challenge is one that has already been identified by scholars Irene Browne and Joya Misra. In their 2003 review article, they note that:

> Although numerous studies point out the impact of gender and race on labor markets..., and theorists posit the importance of the intersection of gender and race..., there has been less empirical research that systematically analyzes the impact of the intersection of race and gender on labor market experiences. An intersectional approach expects that race and gender combine to create distinctive opportunities for all groups. Focusing on the intersection of gender and race provides a fruitful avenue for understanding inequality in the labor market....Specificity is critical to complete, effective, and useful analyses of inequality in labor market outcomes. [44]

While Browne and Misra point to the need for understanding of inequality, political scientists would also question how such inequality, arising from the "distinctive opportunities" resulting from the combined effects of race and gender, would manifest in

differential relations of power in varied occupational and organizational contexts. Browne and Misra also emphasize a related methodological question, that of how the identifiable evidence (that is, the ability of scholars to detect such evidence) of intersecting discriminations can be obscured and/or illuminated by the type(s) of question(s) posed, the method(s) of investigation used, and the type(s) of labor markets and occupational workplaces) investigated.[45]

The problem of better understanding the existing consciousness of race among women of color, and black working-class women in particular has also arisen within this project. While the research has clearly indicated that the subjects believed they had experienced racial discrimination; the research has neither fully illuminated the specific content of those reported beliefs, nor the conclusions of subjects regarding the significance of race and the possibilities of racial transformation in the United States. Such knowledge is crucial to efforts to nurture workplace, union, and community struggles to modify and change unjust relations of power. Paula Stewart Brush has called for more thoughtful investigation of this problem in her 2001 article, "Problematizing the Race Consciousness of Women of Color":

> This article argues that feminist studies of the intersection of race and gender have failed to problematize the race consciousness of women of color. As debates about intersecting race and gender oppressions have evolved, studies have problematized the absence of race consciousness among white women and have called into question feminism's conceptual bases of gender consciousness. At the same time, studies have problematized gender consciousness among women of color, questioning the very relevance of feminism to their lives. Yet, the race consciousness of women of color is often considered a given, neglected as a problematic, and left unexamined.[46]

For political scientists, Brush's call for continued careful examination of the "race" consciousness of black working-class women raises the question of how to better determine the impact of economic, political, and ideological changes since the ebbing of Black Power and the onset of capital restructuring and deindustrialization. Social scientists need to better understand the impact of such sea changes (e.g., the notion that the "Civil Rights 'Revolution'" was victorious, or the notion of the U.S. as a "color-blind" society) on the development of workers' consciousness of racial-ethnicity and the potential for social movement building among African-Americans.

This research project has helped to clarify several challenges to be addressed in future teaching and research. One of the most readily evident challenges is that of making the concept and framework of intersectionality more intelligible and accessible to students. This is no small challenge given the research tasks previously noted. The necessity for helping students—especially students of political science—to grasp the intersection of race, class, sexuality, and gender looms even more difficult at a time when the very notion of discrimination is a hotly-debated question, fantastic to some, and explained away by many others.[47] This project has underlined the need for greater effort to demonstrate the evidence of the impact of discriminations so as to be better able to make that evidence understandable. Clearly, it is not enough to simply assert the impact, no matter how plausible the assertions can be made by references to historical and political development, institutionalized structures, anecdotal evidence, etc. The teaching of intersectionality is thus more than a political problem of trying to help bring students to critical social consciousness. It is also a problem of engaging in empirical research

that increasingly affords concrete evidence on which scholars, policy makers, and activists can base specific interventions for change.[48] Teaching must also be organized so that students can be exposed to empirical investigations and the lived experiences of others (as well as their own), so that those indirect and direct experiences can be drawn upon to illuminate relations of subordination and domination that students have not previously recognized.

For the academic, one of the main impediments to improving one's teaching with working-class adults is gaining access to them through their unions. Admittedly, the organizational relationship between union officials and union members is often a highly politicized issue, especially within the current labor market and trade union context of the United States. Many officials are simply unwilling to provide access to educators because of fears about rank-and-file workers becoming "too knowledgeable" and "too politically conscious" to be controllable within the existing hierarchical relations. This is a particular problem that this researcher has had to confront in maintaining access to study subjects within SEIU. While this is a problem that this researcher has thus far been able to address somewhat effectively, the challenge of gaining access to workers and developing relationships with them need not be resolved solely through their union organizations. Feminist research requires that researchers find as many viable institutional avenues to help study subjects fully appreciate and share their lived experiences so that the subjects can become more involved in their own positive development and the positive development of their communities. In the coming months, this researcher will have to join more closely with study subjects in making the stories of

their strategies available to members of their churches, social groups, community organizations, and university students. This is the only principled and socially-transformative manner of "completing" the research that the study subjects made possible.

NOTES

CHAPTER VI

1. A distinction is made here between collective struggles of workers, as workplace activism independent of the presence and/or influence of any established union; and collective activity to establish and strengthen a given trade union for a specific bargaining unit. This research has clearly shown that the activism of the study subjects often emerged in the absence of any trade union presence or influence in their workplaces.

2. Although the meaning of "economic" is here associated with "gainful employment," this researcher does not intend to suggest that matters of employment should exhaust the meaning of the concept. See Joan Acker, "Rewriting Class, Race, and Gender," in *Revisioning Gender*, eds. Myra Marx Ferree, Judith Lorber, and Beth B. Hess, 2003.

3. Existing literature and this researcher's extensive workplace experience have shown that when workers organize themselves as a bargaining unit, they not only have greater legal standing vis-à-vis an employer, but they are positioned to exert greater power than individual workers can wield.

4. See Kim Moody, *Workers in a Lean World: Unions in the International Economy*, 1997, and *Workplace Justice: Organizing Multi-Identity Movements*, Sharon Kurtz, 2002. Against the current turbulent debate within the national and international trade union movements; the unionism of the study subjects offers some stirring challenges and poses some disturbing questions. As we shall consider later, the subjects' union activism cannot be entirely understood without some examination of the influence of 1199's history, ethos, and practice on the subjects' development as trade unionists.

5. Jane Flax, *The American Dream in Black and White: The Clarence Thomas Hearings*, 1998, 1-2.

6. Paul Frymer, "Racism Revised: Courts, Labor Law, and the Institutional Construction of Racial Animus," *American Political Science Review, 99*(3), August 2005, 373.

7. Ibid., 373.

8. Martha Ackelsberg and Irene Diamond, "Gender and Political Life: New Directions in Political Science," in *Analyzing Gender: A Handbook of Social Science Research*, eds. Beth B. Hess and Myra Marx Ferree, 1987, 518-519. See also Janet A. Flammang, *Women's Political Voice: How Women Are Transforming the Practice and Study of Politics*, 1997, and *Women Transforming Politics: An Alternative Reader*, eds. Cathy J. Cohen, Kathleen B. Jones, and Joan C. Tronto, 1997. The strategies of the study

subjects provided extremely encouraging glimpses of the model of deliberative democracy discussed by Iris Marion Young in the first chapter of her 2000 volume, *Inclusion and Democracy.*

9. Karen Brodkin Sacks, "What's a Life Story Got To Do with It?" in *Interpreting Women's Lives: Feminist Theory and Personal Narratives*, eds. The Personal Narratives Group, 1989, 85-95.

10. Ibid., 92.

11. Ibid., 93.

12. Ibid., 94.

13. This fact became readily apparent to this researcher in the very early stages of the research project, when contacts were being made and relationships were not yet established with projected subjects. It became quite clear that if certain women could be convinced that the project was legitimate and worthwhile, others would be similarly willing to participate. The respect with which the women regarded one another was quite telling.

14. Dorian Warren, "A New Labor Movement for a New Century?" Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the American Political Science Association, Philadelphia, August, 2003.

15. Ibid., "A New Labor Movement for a New Century?"

16. The concept of opportunism used here reflects the day-to-day orientation and efforts of union leaders (both elected and appointed) who are focused on the maintenance of management-labor relations that privilege the corporate control and profit-making of capital over the expansion of worker power, protections, and workplace participation. The reader will readily note that in this understanding of opportunism, the efforts of unionists to maintain and strengthen the privileges of a relative few workers vis-à-vis the entire workplace population are central.

17. For several fine examples of such work, see Nancy C.M. Hartsock's *Money, Sex, and Power;* Patricia Hill Collins's second edition of *Black Feminist Thought;* Dorothy Smith, *Writing the Social: Critique, Theory, and Investigations*; and Audre Lorde, *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches by Audre Lorde.*

18. Diana Tietjens Myers addresses the tensions that appear to exist between feminist understandings of these approaches to the agency of women. The strategies of the black women in this study suggest that each approach is essential. See Myers's essay

on "Agency" in *A Companion to Feminist Philosophy*, eds. Alison M. Jaggar and Iris Marion Young, 2000, 372-382.

19. Ann Bookman and Sandra Morgen, "Rethinking Women and Politics," in *Women and the Politics of Empowerment*, eds. Ann Bookman and Sandra Morgen, 1988, 8.

20. Iris Marion Young, "Political Theory: An Overview," in *A New Handbook of Political Science*, eds. Robert E. Goodin and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, 1998, 484.

21. Ibid., 484.

22. Ibid., 484.

23. M. Bahati Kuumba, *Gender and Social Movements*, 2001, 107.

24. Sharon Kurtz, *Workplace Justice: Organizing Multi-Identity Movements*, 2002, xvi-xvii.

25. Ibid., 56.

26. This fact has been repeatedly emphasized by Lorenzo Crowell, who developed as a union leader in 1199 and later, following the merger between 1199 and SEIU, became an organizer and union representative. Crowell helped train all of the study subjects of this study, either as 1199 members or as SEIU members.

27. Kurtz, 59-60. See also Philip Foner, *Women and the American Labor Movement: From World War I to the Present*, 1980, 455; and Leon Fink and Brian Greenberg, *Upheaval in the Quiet Zone: A History of the Hospital Workers' Union, Local 1199*, 1989, 211.

28. The reflections of these study subjects were corroborated by this researcher's role as a participant-observer during the strike, by conversations with Alice Bush, and by this researcher's examination of a historical account of the strike by IUN Prof. James Lane.

29. This researcher gained direct knowledge of SEIU practices and problems while serving as a Health-and-Safety Organizer on the International Staff in Atlanta, Ga. From 1994 to 1996.

30. Such problems are also among the most debilitating for trade union organizers and labor educators of color. Recurrent reality can be witnessed in formal and informal conversations at each annual gathering of the United Association of Labor Educators.

31. More to the point, the identities of white workers have often evolved in diametric opposition to those of black workers. See, e.g., W.E.B. DuBois's *Black Reconstruction*, 1935; Alexander Saxton, *The Indispensable Enemy: Labor and the Anti-Chinese Movement in California*, 1971; David Roediger *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*, 1991; Herbert Hill, *Black Labor and the American Legal System*, 1985; and Roediger's *Colored White: Transcending the Racial Past*, 2002, especially chapter 11, "What If Labor Were Not White and Male?" 179-202.

32. See Robin D.G. Kelley's *Yo' Mama's DisFUNKtional! Fighting the Culture Wars in Urban America*, 1997, especially chapter four, 103-124.

33. Kurtz, xx-xxvii.

34. Patricia Hill Collins, *Fighting Words: Black Women and the Search for Justice*, 1998, 32-33.

35. Iris Marion Young, "Polity and Group Difference: A Critique of the Ideal of Universal Citizenship," in *Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology*, eds. Robert E. Goodin and Philip Pettit, 1997, 256-272.

36. Adolph Reed, *Class Notes: Posing as Politics and Other Thoughts on the American Scene*, 2000, 25.

37. Carol Mueller, "Ella Baker and the Origins of 'Participatory Democracy'," in *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965*, 1990, 60-61. See also Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle*, 1995; and Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision*, 2003.

38. Beverly Guy Sheftall offered this insight during a recent conversation on May 20, 2006.

39. Janet A. Flammang, *Women's Political Voice: How Women Are Transforming the Practice and Study of Politics*, 1997, 297-353. See also Nancie Carraway, *Segregated Sisterhood: Racism and the Politics of American Feminism*, 1991.

40. Indeed, at least two workers (who asked that their identities be kept secret) acknowledged that Alice Bush was a very good person and trade unionist "although she was still a white woman."

41. After the victory of the "Members First" Campaign to gain control of their own local union; workers learned that Pia Davis had been irresponsible and dishonest about her financial obligations to the union and its members.

42. Judith Squires, *Gender in Political Theory*, 1999, 46. See also Catharine MacKinnon, *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*, 1989.

43. See Hazel V. Carby, "White Woman, Listen," in *Cultures of Babylon*; for one penetrating critique of the concept of the public-private dichotomy in feminist theory.

44. Irene Brown and Joya Misra, "The Intersection of Gender and Race in the Labor Market," *Annual Review of Sociology, 29*, 2003, 487.

45. Ibid., 495.

46. Paula Stewart Brush, "Problematizing the Race Consciousness of Women of Color," Signs: *Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 2001,* 27(1), 171.

47. Browne and Misra, 8.

48. Ibid., 12.

APPENDIX A

Quotations for Code: Al – Training

P 1: 2 JohnnieAndrews.txt - 1:1 (13:25) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training]

T: Who taught you or helped you to learn your job duties?
JA: Well, by being a nursing assistant I learned that in class.
T: Oh, you took classes?
JA: Yes, 104 hours of class.
T: Okay. Other than the class, were there any other ways in which you became aware of your job duties?
JA: No.

P 1: 2 JohnnieAndrews.txt - 1:2 (27:31) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training]

T: Alright. Did you have a written job description that identified your job duties?
JA: Years later, after we got a new supervisor, I got a job description, but before then, no, I did not have one.

P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:2 (15:33) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training]

J: I had a lot of people to show me the job, but I had a few people that taught me the job the right way, and that was Edna Barden, Charlotte Brown*, Daisy Freeman, and Jessie Tarver. For example, they showed me how to load the food on the trays at the right temperature; how to read the diets off of the cards prepared for each resident by the dietician; how to check the boxes of groceries when they were delivered; how to measure the amount of food that we would need for the next day; how to clean the carts when they came back from the units; how to clean all the dishes and set up the trays for the next meal; and how to clean up the kitchen after the cooks were done. They also schooled me about how to talk in front of certain administrators if we wanted to "send a message" to management.

P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:2 (11:22) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training]

Q. Alright. Who taught you or helped you to learn your job duties?
A. The supervisor of that area which was, her name was Ozella Truttling.
Q. When you started, did you have a written job description to identify your job duties?
A. Yes, we did.
Q. And what year was that?
A. That was 1970 ah, 1972.

Appendix A (continued)

P 4: 12_EdnaBarden.txt - 4:2 (26:31) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training]

A. My job duties that I learned, the people that I met there were very generous. They would take you and show you, you know, just what to do and they seemed to be eager to do this. And when you got to know them, they became like a family to you. So you all just stuck together and did what you had to do.

P 4: 12_EdnaBarden.txt - 4:3 (36:44) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training]

A. No, not at that time. You didn't have a job description. Whatever the supervisor would tell you to do, then you would just pick up and do it.
Q. Okay.
A. You know you have always had training in how to clean and do certain things, so it's about like you would do in your kitchen at home.

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:2 (16:34) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training]

Q. Okay. Pat, how did you learn your duties?
A. Well, when I first got hired in at Methodist, I didn't know anything about transcribing. Nothing. So I had a little medical background which I learned at a business college, and by me being a typist and being able to type fast, they hired me on those grounds. I was taught by my immediate supervisor, which was a white lady, and she sat down and she taught me everything I needed to know about transcribing.
Q. Do you remember her name? A. Her name was Marcella Martin.
Q. Alright. Did you have a job description to identify your job duties?
A. At that time, we did not.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:5 (43:61) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training]

T: Okay. Sister Wilma, when you began at Methodist who taught you, or helped you to learn, your job duties?
W: Okay, are you referring to the job of nurses' aide?
T: Yes.
W: Okay, we had a six weeks training at the hospital. Prior to that training, I went to the Gary Career Center for the nurses' assistant program.
T: Okay. When you began working at Methodist, did you have a written job description describing your duties?
W: Yeah, they had a job description for us.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:3 (57:71) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training]

T. Who taught you or helped you to learn your job duties?
L: Basically every one in the kitchen that holds a position now. There is someone else in those jobs and they all had to train me.
T: Okay. When you arrived in 1976 at Methodist, did you have a written job description to identify your job duties?

Appendix A (continued)

L: Yes, I did. I was a nurse's assistant and I was trained through Methodist Hospital. I was given a job description and put on the floor as a nurse's aide after six weeks of training.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:4 (73:90) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training] [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T: Okay, now let me just probe with you a little bit on this question of job description, Vanessa. You say you had a written job description in 1976. Did you ever find that you were being required to perform duties that were outside of your job description?
L: Yes, I did. We had to do a lot of things as a nurse's aide then, but it increased more in 1980. They wanted us to start doing work that the LPN's did. They wanted us to start like shaving groins and prepping patient's for surgery and it wasn't the position of a nurse's assistant to do it.
T: Yes.
L: And I complained about it and I think that that was one of the reasons I was terminated.

P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:2 (30:36) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training]

T: Alright. Charlotte, who taught you or helped you to learn your job duties at Wildwood?
C: At that time my sister was working there, and she schooled me on everything to do and I just picked up from there.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:4 (65:83) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training]

T: Okay. Marion, how did you come to learn your job duties?
M: Well, when I started at Methodist in 1975, you had a class that you had to attend which consisted of about 8 weeks. We had a nurse who taught the secretaries how to be a secretary and she also took you to the units where a secretary was sitting. The unit secretary would let you sit there and transcribe orders, or learn to transcribe orders and put them on the cardexes. That was about the way we learned to do it. And then, you have to learn much of it on your own, because no one can teach you how to read a physician's handwriting. You have to learn that on your own. And some of them have very bad handwriting. But as you kept dealing with these same physicians you eventually learned what the chicken scratch stood for.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:6 (102:130) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training]

T: I see. Bernita, how did you learn your job duties?
B: I was taught by Margaret Holland, an RN, and after she taught us (which was a class of about 8 weeks), we went to the units. There we worked with other secretaries who helped us to learn. Marion was one of the secretaries who trained me as well and Geraldine Gunn. They gave me heck, but anyway, they taught me very well. And they taught me the right way. Even though we worked with them; once you got on your own it was difficult, because we had to learn to do everything by ourselves. Each floor does things differently.
T: Right.
B: So you have to adjust to each unit?
T: Right. Bernita, how did you come to know your duties as a CNA?

Appendix A (continued)

B: I went to a class at the career center and then I went to Methodist Hospital and I got a little bit of training there. We were taught by the nurses, and we also worked with another CAN who helped you to learn what the duties were on the unit.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:7 (132:154) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training]

T: Okay, thank you. Marion, when you began work at Methodist, did you have a written job description?
M: Yes, we did. It tells you what their expectations of you are, and also whatever else the charge nurse or the bulk of the unit wants you to do.
T: Okay, let me clarify, if I may. When you began, almost 25 years ago, did you have a job description, a written job description at that time?
M: Yes, we did. T. Okay. How about you Bernita?
B: Yes, we had a job description and it does tell us what we're supposed to do. But unfortunately, in that description, we have too much emphasis on management rights. They have the right to tell us different things and they can ask different things of you that may not be in there.

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:1 (62:68) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training]

T: Alright, thank you. During the years when you actually were working as a health care provider, who taught you, or helped you to learn, your job duties?
LS: They had classes. The hospital provided classes for you to learn.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:2 (26:43) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training]

Q: Okay. Who taught you or helped you to learn your job duties? A. I was a student at Ivy Tech, my senior year in high school, and I was taught and had functions in the setting at Ivy Tec. That taught me my practices in nurse's aide. As far as the pharmacy technician, I went to South Suburban College for a two year program for pharmacy technician.
Q: Alright. When you began did you have a written job description to identify your job duties?
A: Yes.
Q: Do you now have a written job description?
A. No.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:2 (20:28) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training]

TB: I took a class in Chillicothe, Ohio, and I learned more there. But when I came to Indiana they would not let me do a lot of stuff that I was taught to do in Chillicothe.
T: Okay. Did you take a course for nursing aide? TB: Nursing assistant.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:4 (66:88) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training]

T: Okay. What about the situation at Wildwood? Did you have a written job description when you arrived there?
TB: No, they just told me what to do. You know, just like they trained you.

Appendix A (continued)

T: Right.
TB: They took you around and showed you how they wanted things done and that was it.
T: Okay. Just to clarify, Theresa, at Wildwood who helped you to learn your job duties?
TB: Another nursing assistant.
T: Okay, and you just went around and worked with her?
TB: Worked with her for a few days.

P14: 13_MWLP.txt - 14:2 (23:41) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training]

Q: Okay. Who taught you, or helped you to learn, your present job duties?
A: As a CNA, I went to Manpower. As a QMA, I went to the career center.
Q: And was that the Gary Career Center?
A: No, it used to be at the old Kennedy Laundry, that was in 1966.
Q: Alright. And that's where you got all of your training? For what you're doing now?
A: CNA.
Q: Okay, and your training for QMA?
A. The Career Center. I went there in 1990.

19 quotation(s) for code: A2. PAY Quotation
P 1: 2_JohnnieAndrews.txt - 1:3 (33:37) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay]

T: I see. How much did you make per hour on your job?
JA: You know I really don't remember how much I was making when I left there. I don't know, but it was something like $11.61 an hour.

P 1: 2_JohnnieAndrews.txt - 1:4 (44:51) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay]

T: When you began, how much were you making?
JA: I went in on the big raise (they told me): $3.22 an hour.
T: What year was that?
JA: In 1976. March I, 1976.

P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:6 (83:87) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay]

T: Okay. How much did you make per hour in your job when you began?
J: When, I first started out it was $3.25. [See diary note on this.]

P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:3 (24:26) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay]

Q. How much did you make per hour in your job at that time?
A. $1.36 an hour.

P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:14 (157:162) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

Q. You worked for 5 years and you didn't anything above...

Appendix A (continued)

A. I didn't get anything above $1.36. I know what my paycheck was going to be every 2 weeks because I didn't have nothing to say. Most, some of them got raises, but they were not to tell the other ones that didn't get one. So that's what I'm talking about.

P 4: 12_EdnaBarden.txt - 4:4 (48:55) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay]

A. When I first started in 1966, I was making one dollar a day, not one dollar a day, excuse me, one dollar an hour and $8.00 a day and 40 hours a week. And you would have like $80 and then the tax would come out and you might end up with $63; but back then it was money and it wasn't too much different than what we have going on today. The way your money was, you know, was up to you.

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:3 (38:39) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay]

A. I think I started off making something like $5.50 an hr.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:3 (11:12) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay]

A. We were the first class coming in that year to make two dollars an hour (laughs),

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:7 (75:79) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay]

T: Okay. How much did you make in your job as a nurses' aide?
W: Two dollars an hour in 1971; that is where we started.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:8 (81:91) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay]

T: Okay. Once you became a unit secretary what did you make?
W: Starting out I think we were making something like four or five dollars an hour.
T: Okay. And today how much do you make?
W: Right now I make thirteen dollars and six cents (I think that is what it is).

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:5 (92:101) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay]

T: Alright. How much did you make when you began as a nurse's assistant in 1976?
L: I started off at $2.97, as a nurse's assistant.
T: I see. And how much do you make in your current job at Methodist?
L: Right now in my current position I make $11.56.

P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:4 (70:76) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay]

T: Yes, yes, okay. And how much were you making per hour when you began at Wildwood?
C: When I began at Wildwood, I was making one dollar and twenty-five cents an hour.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:8 (161:178) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay]

T. Marion, when you began, how much were you making per hour in your job?

Appendix A (continued)

M. When I started in '75, I was making $3.04 an hour.
T. And what do you make now?
M. (Laughter) I make $13.02 an hour now.
T. Bernita, when you began as a CNA, how much were you making per hour, please?
B. $3.33 an hour.
T. And how much do you make today?
B. $13.02

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:4 (151:156) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay]

T: Okay. How much were you making per hour at St. Mary's when you were working there?
LS: Probably around six fifty. I can't remember for sure, but it was in that range.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:3 (50:58) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay]

Q. Alright. In 1971, how much did you make per hour?
A. $2.02.
Q. Okay. How much do you make per hour in your present job?
A. $16.75

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:3 (52:57) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay]

S: I was making four dollars and I think it was fifty cents or eight-five cents an hour.
T: And what year was that?
S: 1976.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:5 (98:105) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay]

TB: About around five or six when I left St. Margaret's. When I started at Wildwood, I took a cut in pay and I was working for $3.45.
T: Okay, again that was what year?
TB: I think it was around 1972.

P14: 13_MWLP.txt - 14:4 (59:72) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay]

Q. Okay, alright. How much did you make per hour in your job when you started?
A. When I started, it didn't equal out to a dollar per hour, we was on a salary; we got paid on the 5th and 20th of each month and it was $80 each pay. Maybe you can figure it out.
Q. $80 each pay. For how many hours? For 80?
A. It came out, 8 hours per day, but with the pay period there are times you would have 11 days on pay, sometimes 12. But it was still $80 per pay.

P14: 13_MWLP.txt - 14:6 (78:85) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay]

Q. Right. And 40 hours per week, even though it seems that you were not really paid for every hour that you worked.
A. Yeah.

Appendix A (continued)

Q. You worked 7 to 3 but you did not work a 40 hour week, right?

16 quotation(s) for code: A3. HOURS
P 1: 2_JohnnieAndrews.txt - 1:5 (53:66) (Super) Codes: [A3. Hours]

T: Okay. What shifts and hours did you work?
JA: I worked from 8 am to 4:30 pm while I was in training, and I was hired for Southlake Campus. They did not call it Southlake Campus, they called it Broadway Methodist Hospital. That is what they called it at that time.
T: Okay and you worked the same shift there?
JA: No, I worked from 7 am to 3:30 pm as a nurse's assistant because you had to make up your own lunch hour which was 30 minutes. That is how the 3:30 came in and then when I went on transportation I worked from 8 am to 4:30 pm one week, 7:30 am to 4:00 pm the next week.

P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:7 (95:98) (Super) Codes: [A3. Hours]

T: Alright. And what shifts and hours did you work?
J: I worked 6 to 2, 7 to 3, and 12 to 8.

P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:4 (34:36) (Super) Codes: [A3. Hours]

A. I worked from 12 pm to 8 pm in the afternoon
Q. So you worked the afternoon, evening shift.

P 4: 12_EdnaBarden.txt - 4:5 (63:74) (Super) Codes: [A3. Hours]

A. So this might have been like you had 5, 6, or 7 dollars. So you didn't mind doing that. The only thing, the lady that I used to work for when I first started there in 1966, was Miss Calloway. Instead of working 8 hours, anytime that you got through with your work, you could leave. If it was 7 o'clock, you could go home. And when you know, ah, really you come to work from 11 to 7 and you could leave at 6, so once you were finished with it, you could leave. Nothing was ever said about it. So as time progresses on into the work load, she wasn't able to meet the payroll so we still continued to work because we had gotten so involved with the patients.

P 4: 12_EdnaBarden.txt - 4:6 (80:82) (Super) Codes: [A3. Hours]

A. I would work from 11, say 11 to 7 but it would be from 11 to 6. Because most of the time we would get off an hour early. But we still got paid for 8 hours.

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:4 (43:48) (Super) Codes: [A3. Hours]

A. I worked days, from 8 am to 4:30 pm, Monday through Friday. A half a day every other Saturday, because of the workload and they paid you for a full 8 hour shift. You at least had to work 4 hrs on Saturday to get paid for 8. We were told not to clock out on Saturday—only if you did not work the full 8 hr. shift.

Appendix A (continued)

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:9 (92:104) (Super) Codes: [A3. Hours]

T: Thank you. What shifts and hours did you work when you began at Methodist?
W: Okay, when I started off as a nurses' aide, I worked three shifts. I would work the day shift which was basically from seven in the morning to three-thirty in the pm. I also had worked the three-to-eleven shift which started at three pm and ended at eleven-thirty pm. We also worked the midnight shift, which started at eleven pm and ended the next morning at seven-thirty.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:10 (109:115) (Super) Codes: [A3. Hours]

W: Since I switched to unit secretary, I have been working a straight day shift. Although it varies, I have worked from seven to three- thirty. Then our hours were switched at one time, so that we worked from six-thirty to a three o'clock pm. I am currently working from eight to four-thirty.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:6 (103:117) (Super) Codes: [A3. Hours]

T: What shifts and hours did you work when you began?
L: As an aide?
T: Yes.
L: I worked straight seven to three-thirty.
T: And now what shifts and hours do you work?
L: I rotate. I work five-thirty to two some days, seven to three-thirty some days, eight to four- thirty some days, six to two-thirty some days, ten to six-thirty some days, those are my hours.

P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:5 (78:82) (Super) Codes: [A3. Hours]

T: Alright. What shifts and hours did you work?
C: I worked eleven to seven shift, seven to three shift, and six to two shift.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:9 (179:203) (Super) Codes: [A3. Hours]

T. I see. Marion, what shifts and hours did you work when you began?
M. I worked part-time when I began. I worked from 4 pm to 8 pm—that was the only shift that they had available and I accepted that shift.
T. Okay, today in your job as a unit secretary, what shifts and hours do you work?
M. I work from 7 am to 3:30 pm but I have worked all of the shifts. I have worked the pm shift and also the midnight shift.
T. Bernita, what shifts and hours did you work as you started as a CNA?
B. I worked 7 to 3:30 and 3 to 11:30.
T. Okay, and today as a unit secretary what are your shifts and hours?
B. I work 7, no, I work 6a to 2:30 and on occasion I do work over and work the 3-11 shift.

Appendix A (continued)

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:5 (158:170) (Super) Codes: [A3. Hours]

T: Okay. What shifts and hours did you work as a nurse's aide?
LS: The PM shift.
T: What hours were those?
LS: From two-thirty to eleven.
T: Okay, and did you basically work a forty-hour week?
LS: Yes.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:4 (65:79) (Super) Codes: [A3. Hours]

Q: Alright. What shift and hours did you work, initially, at Methodist?
A. Worked round the clock, days through 11 and midnight.
Q. Okay, and what hours and shifts do you currently work?
A. Days and evenings.
Q. Okay. And when you say days and evenings, what does that mean?
A. 7 to 3:30 and 2:30 to 11.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:4 (59:62) (Super) Codes: [A3. Hours]

T: And what shifts and hours did you work?
S: At that time, I worked seven to 3:30.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:6 (111:126) (Super) Codes: [A3. Hours]

T: Alright. What shifts and hours did you work at St. Margaret's, and what shifts and hours did you work at Wildwood?
TB: I worked days at St. Margaret's and at Wildwood I also worked days. When I started out at Wildwood, I was just part- time. As part-time, I worked all three shifts and sometime I worked sixteen hours per day.
T: Yes.
TB: And then I worked days, evenings and mid-nights. I might work two shifts in a day.

P14: 13_MWLP.txt - 14:5 (74:76) (Super) Codes: [A3. Hours]

Q. Okay, what shifts and hours did you work?
A. 7 to 3.

28 quotation(s) for code: A4. TYPE OF WORK
P 1: 2_JohnnieAndrews.txt - 1:25 (68:74) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

T: What does it mean to be on transportation?
JA: You would transport the patients to and from the floor to the x-ray department and they had a radiation therapy department. They called it radiation therapy but now they call it Oncology. We transported patients to oncology. That was the cancer patients.

Appendix A (continued)

P 1: 2_JohnnieAndrews.txt - 1:26 (5:11) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

T: Sister Andrews what were your duties at the health care facility?
JA: At one time I was hired in as a nursing assistant and then I went to be a patient transporter. I transported patients from the floor to the x-ray department for 2 ½ years. Later I went to be a dark room technician.

P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:1 (7:9) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

J: I was a dietary aide and I prepared the food and the trays for the residents in the nursing home.

P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:4 (44:64) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

J: Uh, like when I would come in I would have to get the buttermilk tray ready for that morning and that evening. So yeah, we all had different job descriptions.
T: Okay, let me probe on this particular question with you just a little bit, Jean. Did you ever find in your work as a dietary aide that you were required to perform duties that were outside of your written job description? Or did your regular duties conform to your written job description pretty well?
J: Uh, most of the time we followed the job description, but we volunteered to do other things like when we saw somebody that needed help. We would assist them.
T: Alright.
J: So it was a voluntary thing.

P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:5 (66:81) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

T: Okay, but you weren't actually ever required by a supervisor to go beyond or go outside of the job description?
J: Well, management didn't force us to work outside our job descriptions, but if we had a flood in the kitchen, it really wasn't our job to get the sewage water up. But in order to actually do our jobs, we had to get the water up. Or, if the elevator stopped working, we would have to carry a cart upstairs and make a tray line of workers to make sure the residents got their food. It wasn't really our job to make this extra effort, but we were trying to do our job to care for the residents.

P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:1 (4:9) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

Q. Sister Dixon, what were your duties at Methodist Hospital when you began to work there?
A. At Methodist Hospital, when I first started out, my duties were working as a dish room worker, taking care of the dirty dishes—scraping them, rinsing them, and putting them through the dishwasher.

Appendix A (continued)

P 4: 12_EdnaBarden.txt - 4:1 (7:21) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

A. When I first came to Wildwood Manor in November, November 8th, 1966, I was hired as a helper in dietary, dietary helper.
Q. Okay, and what did you do as a helper in dietary?
A. In dietary, I would take the trays, it was an assembly line for fixing food, washing dishes. You didn't have to mop because they had some one there at night to do that. But the duties of fixing and preparing food for that particular day and also preparing stuff to set up for the next day, you did that also. And you also, when the trays were ready to receive and go out to the floor, sometimes if the load was short, you would have to go and do it, take it, extra work was being put on you.

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:1 (8:9) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

A. I was a medical transcriptionist for the radiology division and I transcribed all of the X-ray reports from X-rays.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:1 (9:16) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

W: I started at Methodist Northlake in 1971, July 12th. At that time I was a nurses' aide. We were the first class coming in that year to make two dollars an hour (laughs), so we mostly performed nurses' aide duty. We did vital signs, made beds, bathed patients, passed ice water, and answered the lights.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:2 (16:21) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

A. In 1974 (the latter part), I went from a nurses' aide to being a unit secretary. Management was getting ready to build Southlake out on Broadway , and our class (for unit secretaries) was to be sent out there to work.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:4 (33:41) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

T: Okay. What were your duties as a unit secretary, please?
W: That is what I remain today: a unit secretary. Basically we note doctors orders, answer the phones, referring callers to the needed party, ordering supplies for the unit, and that is just about it.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:6 (63:73) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

T: Let me just probe with you just a little bit. As you began your work did you find that what you were asked to do on a daily basis actually followed the job description, or did you find that you were asked to do things that were not in your job description?
W: Yeah, you did other things, because it was things in the description that would lead you to do just about anything that was asked of you.

Appendix A (continued)

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:1 (4:29) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

T: Sister Louella, what are your duties, and what were your duties at the health care facility?
L: I work as a Relief in the Food Service Department. I used to work in the diet office, and I decided to transfer to get a better position, a more higher paying position, and a straight day shift. I was bumped down to a part-time position after a full-time.
T: Okay. Just to clarify, Louella, could you say a little bit more about what you actually do? What your duties actually require?
L: My duties is, I do early entrée cooking, late entrée cooking, I do vegetable cooking, breakfast cooking. I am the salad worker. I do deserts. I also do nourishments for the patients. Basically anything they need from catering. T: And does catering require that you take the food from the place where it is prepared in the kitchen to the various floors?
L: Yes. And sometimes to the administration building.

P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:1 (5:12) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

T: Sister Charlotte, what were you duties at the health care facility where you were working?
C: My duties were washing the dishes, I did several things like fixing the bread, getting the bread ready, do the deserts, and also tray girl. I worked on the tray line.

P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:3 (38:68) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

T: Alright. At the time that you were working at Wildwood, did you have a written job description to identify your job duties?
C: Yes.
T: Okay, and let me just probe a little bit more with you on this particular question. Did you find that your duties actually ran along with the job description, or were you ever asked or required to do duties that were not in the job description?
C: Yes, sometimes I was required to do stuff that wasn't on the job description.
T: Okay, could you just elaborate a little bit? What were some of those duties that you were required to do?
C: Some of those duties was, you know like, if the cook was short, help the cook.
T: Yes.
C: And that wasn't my job.
T: Right.
C: And I didn't mind doing that at that time.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:1 (8:35) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

M. Well, I was at Methodist, and I'm still there. I am really a gopher: we transcribe doctors' orders, we answer the telephone, we assist the physicians, we assist the nurses, we call and page doctors when asked to, we go pick up checks for doctors, direct traffic for patient's families and the patients so we're a little bit of everything— we're more or less like receptionists. The secretary is sitting in the center, so she has to know everything that is going on the floor.
T. So you are a secretary?

Appendix A (continued)

M. Yes, I am a unit secretary, they call it unit secretary.
T. Okay, is that what you were doing when you began work at Methodist? M. That's exactly what I was doing. I have been doing this job for 20 some years now.
T. You began in what year, please?
M. I began in November 1975. The only thing that has changed since when I started is that we have computers now. When I first started, we wrote everything out by hand on cards.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:2 (39:47) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

B. I'm a unit secretary also at Methodist Hospital. I first came there in 1976 as a CNA. I quit for three years, then I came back in January of '81 as a unit secretary. Our duties there are to transcribe orders, answer the phone, assist the doctors and nurses, we schedule tests, we greet the visitors, we tell them where to go, we order supplies, we file, you know, a little bit of everything.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:3 (49:57) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

T. Okay, Bernita, you made reference to an earlier job as a CNA. Would you just specify what that is?
B. It's a nursing assistant at. We gave patients nourishment; took vital signs (which is temperature, pulse, respiration, and blood pressure); and we recorded food and drink intake for patients.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:5 (85:100) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

T. Okay, Marion, do you have to listen to a Dictaphone and write down what has been dictated?
M. No, the physicians have a chart with the patient's name, and everything that the patient has done since they've been in the hospital. They write on the physicians' order sheet. It's like you get a prescription. And I look at the order sheet and I take that order sheet and I transcribe it (well, now we put into the computer)—including the schedule of the patients for x-rays, for lab tests, or for a certain medication. I look at everything he puts on the chart and I put it where it belongs (in the computer).

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:2 (108:115) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

LS: I was a nurse's aide. I took blood pressures, gave baths, passed water, took temperatures, and cared for patients' needs.
T: Alright.
LS: General needs.

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:3 (117:149) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

T: Alright, thank you. At that time, while you were still working as a nurse's aide, did you have a written job description to identify your job duties?
LS: Yes, I did.

Appendix A (continued)

T: Okay, let me probe that with you just a little bit. As far as you can recollect, did your actual job duties match the written job description, or did you find at times that you were asked to do things that were really not a part of your written job description?
LS: I was asked to do things that wasn't part of my job description.
T: Okay, and you were asked to do those things by supervisors?
LS: Yes.
T: Okay, do you remember what any of those requests were? What were some of the things that you had to do that did not fall within your written job description?
LS: Mostly blood pressures.
T: Okay. That was something that a nurse was supposed to do?
LS: Yes.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:1 (4:24) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

Q. Sister Priscella, what were or what are your duties at the healthcare facility where you worked or where you work?
A. Well, at this present moment, I'm the pharmacy technician in the in-patient pharmacy department. Whereas the duties coming in, I was a nurse's aide and a ward secretary, doing various jobs within the hospital.
Q. Okay, and at what health facility was this?
A. Methodist Hospital North Lake, in Gary.
Q. Is that where you are still?
A. I am still working in the pharmacy department.
Q. Okay. In the North Lake facility in Gary?
A. Yes.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:1 (5:15) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

T: Sister Shirley, what were your duties at the health care facility where you worked?
S: I was a unit secretary. I transcribed the orders from the doctors for the nurses.
T: Okay, and what was that health care facility, please?
S: It was Methodist Hospital Southlake Campus.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:2 (17:43) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

T: Thank you. When you began working at Methodist Hospital, did you have a written job description to identify your job duties?
S: Yes I did. At first we didn't, and then we did have a description of our job duties.
T: Let me just probe with you a little bit. Did your daily duties actually conform to your written job description, or did you find that you were required to do things outside of your job description?
S: Yes, often we were asked to do things outside of our job description.
T: Could you give an example please?
S: Well, an example was calling the doctors; running errands when you were busy doing your job; and answering call lights when you were busy doing your job.
T: And that was not within your job description?
S: No.

Appendix A (continued)

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:1 (4:15) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

T: Sister Theresa, what were your duties at the health care facility when you were working there?
TB: I was a nursing assistant. I cared for the residents...
T: Okay...
TB: taking blood pressures, bathing them, walking them, doing therapy with them and feeding.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:3 (45:64) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

T: Alright. Did you have a written job description at St. Margaret's and at Wildwood when you started?
TB: I didn't see a job description. You know, I did the aides' work.
T: Right.
TB: And you have thirty day trial.
T: Right.
TB: You know, they checked you out to see if you did your work right. And that was all.
T: So there was no job description?
TB: They might have had a book, but I never seen it.

P14: 13_MWLP.txt - 14:1 (4:17) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

Q. Sister Mildred, what are your duties at the healthcare facility?
A. I have various duties. One, I work as the CNA. I work as the QMA wherever deemed necessary. QMA, I pass meds. CNAs basically care for the residents, bathing, doing whatever.
Q. Sister Mildred, would you please explain, what does the term QMA or the term CNA actually mean?
A. CAN means "certified nurses assistant," QMA means "qualified medication aide."

P14: 13_MWLP.txt - 14:3 (43:57) (Super) Codes: [A4. Type of work]

Q. Okay. When you began your present job, did you have a written job description?
A. As a CNA in 1966, no.
Q. When you started at Wildwood, did you have a job description?
A.. No, at first we didn't have one, but in the later years, when the Crumps came, we had a job description.
Q. Did you ever have to perform duties that were outside of your job description?
A. No.

5 quotation(s) for code: B1A. BF
P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:8 (100:111) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1a. BF]

T: Okay. To the best of your recollection, Jean, what were the races and genders of your supervisors or bosses at your workplace?

Appendix A (continued)

J: Well, my bosses were all black. It was a black-owned business.
T: And were your supervisors or bosses all men or all women?
J: Women.

P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:16 (186:197) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1a. BF] [F. Evaluation of PS]

Q. Okay. I just wanted to get that out! So after that you didn't have anymore problems?
A. I didn't have no problems, not directly. I had indirectly because he had a black lady supervisor up under him, and she would come to me and tell me what he was saying.
Q. Yes, yes.
A. He would never come back to me, directly; he always would send her and tell me what he wanted me to know. But otherwise, I didn't have any more like that.

P 4: 12_EdnaBarden.txt - 4:7 (87:112) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1a. BF]

A. Well, the races at Wildwood when I first started were all black. Sooner or later, I think it might have been about 4 or 5 months later, after I was there, a German lady that came and she was the baker. She was hired in the bakery and she did the baking. She was the only white person that I had worked with at Wildwood.
Q. What about your supervisor?
A. My supervisor at the time, there wasn't any supervisor in my department. The cooks were mostly in charge of what was going on in there.
Q. Okay.
A. Then later we had a supervisor (and it was a nurse from the floor) there to maintain and supervise the dietary.
Q. Okay, was she Afro-American?
A. Yes, she was Afro-American.
Q. Okay, now just backtracking a little bit, were your supervisors or bosses all women or men?
A. Women.

P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:6 (84:100) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1a. BF]

T: Charlotte, when you started, what were the races and genders of your bosses or supervisors?
C: Well, my supervisor was black.
T: Okay. Now what was the department?
C: Dietary Department.
T: Dietary Department, okay. And were your supervisors male or female?
C: Female.
T: Okay. So you had one Black female supervisor at that time?

Appendix A (continued)

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:8 (169:177) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1a. BF]

T: Alright. And at that time when you started, you say your administrators at Wildwood were African American?
TB: African American.
T: Were they all women?
TB: All women.

3 quotation(s) for code: B1B. MIXED
P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:5 (40:57) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1b. Mixed]

Q. At your workplace at that time, Sister Dixon, what were the races and genders of your supervisors or bosses?
A. We had a mixture of supervisors. We had black-American, we had white-American, we had some German, it was a mixture.
Q. Would you say that the majority were black or white?
A. It was white.
Q. Okay. The majority was white, but you did have some black supervisors as well?
A. Yes, we did.
Q. Was Ms. Truttling African-American?
A. Yes she was.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:8 (129:143) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1b. Mixed]

T: And what is the situation today? What are the races and genders of your supervisors?
L: They are black, white, and Puerto Rican.
T: Are they male or female?
L: All of mine are male.
T: All of yours are males?
L: There is only one female.
T: Okay. Even in the kitchen?
L: Only one female.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:6 (92:99) (Super) Codes: [B1b. Mixed]

Q. And in your present job, what are the races and genders of your supervisors or bosses?
A. We have a Moroccan and the other is white.
Q. Male or female?
A. Male, both.

Appendix A (continued)

12 quotation(s) for code: B1C. WF
P 1: 2_JohnnieAndrews.txt - 1:6 (76:85) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1c. WF]

T: Alright. What were the races and genders of your supervisors or bosses at your workplace?
JA: They were Caucasians. There was no African Americans bosses on the floor nor in the x-ray department.
T: I see. Did you have any supervisors who were African Americans?
JA: No. No.

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:5 (53:53) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1c. WF]

A. White female, white doctors.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:11 (121:148) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1c. WF]

W: Well, when we started out, I was in the "float pool."
T: What is the float pool?
W: The float pool was a pool of girls (I think it was like eight or nine of us) who would go to different floors everyday. We would have to go to the nursing service office and receive our assignments as to which floor we would work that day.
T: I see.
W: So, I forgot the question.
T: The question was when you began at Methodist as a nurses' aide, what were the races and genders of your supervisors or bosses?
W: Okay, my supervisors then were basically white.
T: Were they all men or mostly men or women?
W: They had a supervisor that was a male; most of them were females.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:13 (164:174) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1c. WF]

T: Alright. And today what are the races and genders of your supervisors?
W: Oh, maybe I need to say too when I went out to Southlake.
T: Okay.
W: Basically, yes, all of them were white out there. All of my supervisors were nurses and assistants.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:7 (119:127) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1c. WF]

T: Okay. What were the races and genders of your supervisors or bosses at Methodist Northlake when you began?
L: Basically all of them were white.

Appendix A (continued)

T: Okay. Were they all male or female?
L: Female.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:10 (205:218) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1c. WF]

T. All right. Marion, what were the races and genders of your supervisors or bosses at Methodist when you began your job?
M. White.
T. Okay, let me clarify, let me just probe with you a little bit. Your supervisors were all white?
M. Yes.
T. Okay, were they all women or men?
M. Women.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:11 (220:227) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1c. WF]

T. All right. And for you Bernita?
B. White and they were all women.
T. Okay, now that was when you were a CNA and when you
B. Yes

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:6 (172:194) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1c. WF]

T: Alright. To the best of your recollection, what were the races and genders of your supervisors or bosses at St. Mary's?
LS: The majority was white and black.
T: Alright.
LS: And female.
T: Okay. So you did have some black supervisors?
LS: Yes.
T: Were the majority of them black?
LS: No.
T: The majority of them were white and female?
LS: Yes.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:5 (81:90) (Super) Codes: [B1c. WF] [B1d. WM]

Q. I see. Priscella, what were the races and genders of your supervisors or bosses at your first job in Methodist?
A. They were all Caucasian.
Q. Alright. And were they all women or men and women?
A. There were men and women.

Appendix A (continued)

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:5 (64:80) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1c. WF]

T: Alright. What were the races and genders of your supervisors or bosses at Methodist?
S: Mostly white. In fact, all white.
T: All white. Okay. Now were they all male or all female, or were they mixed?
S: It was mixed.
T: Okay. Did you have more male then female?
S: No, we had more females.
T: More white females?

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:7 (143:151) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1c. WF]

TB: Mostly white at St. Margaret's.
T: Were they all male?
TB: Female.
T: All female. Okay. So at St. Margaret's they were all white and all female?

P14: 13_MWLP.txt - 14:8 (121.124) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1c. WF]

Q. Okay. But you had more White?
A. Right. And the employees have always been mostly women.

2 quotation(s) for code: B1D. WM
P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:15 (168:184) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1d. WM] [D5. General workplace conflicts] [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS]

Q. Alright. Thank you. Could you describe any other workplace conflicts that you experienced as a black woman worker?
A. Yes, when I got promoted from the dish room to the set-up area (that was from dish room over to the kitchen part), I had a man supervisor at first and he was always saying that I wasn't doing my work correctly. And that he was going to send me back to the dish room because I looked like I was slow to learn, to catch on with the work. But after we had a conversation (me and this man supervisor—he was an Italian), I told him what I wanted him to know. He left me alone. And we got along, we never did like each other, but he had no other choice but to respect me 'cause I respected him. And so we got along fine until I retired.
Q. Would you care to tell a little bit about what you wanted him to know?
A. I wanted him to know that he wasn't going to send me no where. He couldn't send me no where.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:5 (81:90) (Super) Codes: [B1c. WF] [B1d. WM]

Q. I see. Priscella, what were the races and genders of your supervisors or bosses at your first job in Methodist?

Appendix A (continued)

A. They were all Caucasian.
Q. Alright. And were they all women or men and women?
A. There were men and women.

6 quotation(s) for code: B2A. BF
P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:6 (59:61) (Super) Codes: [B2. Coworker Race and Gender] [B2a. BF]

Q. Alright. What were the races and genders of your co-workers?
A. It was mostly black.

P 4: 12_EdnaBarden.txt - 4:8 (118:123) (Super) Codes: [B2. Coworker Race and Gender] [B2a. BF]

Q. Okay, and most of your co-workers were women?
A. Women, except for the boys that, you know, later on, they would get them to wash the dishes, mop the floors and to do heavy chores as far, you know, storing groceries and stuff like that.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:9 (145:153) (Super) Codes: [B2. Coworker Race and Gender] [B2a. BF]

T: Alright. What were the races and genders of your co-workers at Methodist Northlake when you began?
L: Basically all black.
T: Okay, and were they all men or women?
L: They were all women at that time.

P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:7 (104:112) (Super) Codes: [B2. Coworker Race and Gender] [B2a. BF]

T: Thank you. What were the races and genders of your coworkers at Wildwood?
C: The majority of my coworkers was black, except for one white.
T: Okay, and were they male or female?
C: Female.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:7 (101:117) (Super) Codes: [B2a. BF] [B2b. Mixed]

Q. In your first job at Methodist, what were the races and genders of your co-workers?
A. Mostly Black but we did have a mixture of Hispanic and Caucasian.
Q. Okay, and where they mostly male or mostly female?
A. Mostly female.
Q. Okay, but you did have some male?
A. Yes, I can only recall one male orderly that worked with us. We had male orderlies in the emergency room.

Appendix A (continued)

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:10 (192:195) (Super) Codes: [B2. Coworker Race and Gender] [B2a. BF]

T: Okay, now what about Wildwood?
TB: At Wildwood they were all female too, but it was black workers.

7 quotation(s) for code: B2B. MIXED
P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:9 (123:139) (Super) Codes: [B2. Coworker Race and Gender] [B2b. Mixed]

T: Okay. Thinking back to your co- workers, what were the races and genders of your co-workers at Wildwood?
J: Okay. Most of the employees were Black and we had two Latino workers that worked in Laundry.
T: Okay.
J: Yeah, so most of them were Black and most of the employees were female.
T: Okay.
J: And we had a few men.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:10 (155:171) (Super) Codes: [B2. Coworker Race and Gender] [B2b. Mixed]

T: And what are the races and genders of your co-workers today?
L: They're mixed.
T: They're mixed?
L: Black, White, Puerto Rican, Mexican.
T: Okay, and are they male and female?
L: Yes.
T: Would you say that there are more females than males?
L: Yes.

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:7 (196:208) (Super) Codes: [B2. Coworker Race and Gender] [B2b. Mixed]

T: Alright, thank you. To the best of your recollection what were the races and genders of your co-workers at St. Mary's?
LS: Well, we had all races and genders of co-workers, because there was Spanish, black, white.
T: There was a mixture?
LS: Mixture, yeah, and female and male, because they had orderlies, maybe one or maybe two.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:7 (101:117) (Super) Codes: [B2a. BF] [B2b. Mixed]

Q. In your first job at Methodist, what were the races and genders of your co-workers?
A. Mostly black but we did have a mixture of Hispanic and Caucasian.
Q. Okay, and where they mostly male or mostly female?

Appendix A (continued)

A. Mostly female.
Q. Okay, but you did have some male?
A. Yes, I can only recall one male orderly that worked with us. We had male orderlies in the emergency room.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:8 (118:124) (Super) Codes: [B2b. Mixed]

Q. Okay. Now at your present workplace, what are the races and genders of your co-workers?
A. Oh, we're very diverse. We have a little of everything, from across the waters across the seas, across the world!

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:9 (183:190) (Super) Codes: [B2. Coworker Race and Gender] [B2b. Mixed]

TB: My co-workers at St. Margaret's were mixed, black, white, Mexican., and Puerto Rican.
T: Okay. Now were they all female co- workers?
TB: All female.

P14: 13_MWLP.txt - 14:9 (126:135) (Super) Codes: [B2. Coworker Race and Gender] [B2b. Mixed]

Q. What were the races and genders of your co- workers at your workplace?
A. The co-workers basically have always been black, very few Whites.
Q. Okay. Are there any other racial-ethnic groups besides black?
A. We've had Mexicans plenty of times.

4 quotation(s) for code: B2C. WF
P 1: 2_JohnnieAndrews.txt - 1:7 (87:104) (Super) Codes: [B2. Coworker Race and Gender] [B2c. WF] [X. Striking quote]

T: Were your coworkers Caucasians or African Americans?
JA: I had one black coworker, but she was white inside, black outside. Okay, do you know what I mean? What I mean about that, she did not classify herself as being black, she said her grandmother was not black. She said my grandmother was white.
T: So she identified as white?
JA: She identified herself as white, but one of the doctors called her "Black Marie Grant."
T: I understand.
JA: But the doctors all called her Ms. Grant, so that is how they addressed her, as Ms. Grant.

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:6 (58:62) (Super) Codes: [B2. Coworker Race and Gender] [B2c. WF]

A. White, female.
Q. Okay, you were the only... A. I was the only black transcriptionist up until, I think, 1985.

Appendix A (continued)

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:12 (233:244) (Super) Codes: [B2. Coworker Race and Gender] [B2c. WF]

T. Alright. What were the races and genders, Marion, of your co-workers at Methodist?
M. Predominately white. There were very few blacks there, you could count them on one hand and still have some fingers left.
T. Okay, is that the case today?
M. Today on the floor that I work with, I'd say they are predominately white and there's about six blacks on the floor, that's it.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:13 (252:263) (Super) Codes: [B2. Coworker Race and Gender] [B2c. WF]

T. kay, all right. Thank you. Bernita, when you started as a CNA, what, I'm sorry. What ere the races and genders of your co-workers?
B. redominately white. There were one back helping on the unit and one black CNA at the time I started.
T. Okay. And were most of your co-workers male or female?
B. Female.

10 quotation(s) for code: B3A. NO UNION
P 1: 2_JohnnieAndrews.txt - 1:8 (106:120) (Super) Codes: [B3. Union present or not] [B3a. No union]

T: Yes. Was there a union in your workplace?
JA: No, it was not. There was flyers put in and I was the one that put the flyers in everybody's lockers mentioning a union. That went over not good at all because you could here them whispering, "We don't want a new union. We don't want no union. They tried to get a union once before and everybody got fired. We don't want a union." Okay, that died away. So Marion Epps came to me one day and said, "Johnnie if we get a union will you participate in it?" I said, "Yes, it will be good if we got a union." Rev. Chrispell came to me and he said, "Johnnie you don't need a union because it is not what you think it is. A union is not what you think it is. Believe you me." I, "Okay," just like that. But I went with the union.

P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:7 (63:65) (Super) Codes: [B3. Union present or not] [B3a. No union]

Q. Was there a union in your workplace at that time?
A. No, there wasn't.

P 4: 12 EdnaBarden.txt - 4:9 (129:132) (Super) Codes: [B3. Union present or not] [B3a. No union]

Q. Alright. Was there a union in your workplace at the time that you started?
A. No, it was not.

Appendix A (continued)

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:14 (191:198) (Super) Codes: [B3. Union present or not] [B3a. No union]

W: No, no, no union.
T: I see.
W: I had heard that workers had tried once before there and in the laundry department a lot of them were fired—for just mentioning union or trying to get with the union.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:11 (173:176) (Super) Codes: [B3. Union present or not] [B3a. No union]

T: I see. When you began work at Northlake in 1976, was there a union in the workplace?
L: No.

P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:8 (114:117) (Super) Codes: [B3. Union present or not] [B3a. No union]

T: Okay. Was there a union in your workplace at that time when you started?
C: No.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:14 (265:272) (Super) Codes: [B3. Union present or not] [B3a. No union]

T. Okay. Marion, was there a union in your workplace when you began working?
M. No. There was no union there.
T. Bernita, was that your experience as well?
B. Yes. There was no union.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:9 (126:129) (Super) Codes: [B3. Union present or not] [B3a. No union]

Q. I see. When you began at Methodist, was there a union in your workplace?
A. No.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:6 (84:87) (Super) Codes: [B3. Union present or not] [B3a. No union]

T: Thank you. In 1976, when you began working, was there a union at Methodist?
S: No.

P14: 13_MWLP.txt - 14:10 (137:140) (Super) Codes: [B3. Union present or not] [B3a. No union]

Q. Was there a union in your workplace at that time?
A. No.

Appendix A (continued)

4 quotation(s) for code: B3B. UNION PRESENT
P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:10 (141:149) (Super) Codes: [B3. Union present or not] [B3b. Union present]

T: Alright. Was there a union at your workplace when you hired in?
J: Yes.
T: Okay, do you remember what the union was?
J: It was 1199, The Hospital Workers.

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:7 (64:69) (Super) Codes: [B3. Union present or not] [B3b. Union present]

Q. Okay. Was there a union at Methodist at the time that you hired in?
A. The union was just getting started when I hired in. I think they were there maybe a year, maybe a year and a half before I started.

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:8 (210:219) (Super) Codes: [B3. Union present or not] [B3b. Union present]

T: Okay, thank you. When you were working at St. Mary's, was there a union there?
LS: Ah yes, it had just come into existence.
T: Okay. When did it actually come into existence?
LS: In 1977.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:11 (197:203) (Super) Codes: [B3. Union present or not] [B3b. Union present]

T: Was there a union at Wildwood, and if so, what was the name of the union?
TB: Yes, at Wildwood there was 1199. But everybody wasn't a member. There were workers there who had been there for a long time, yet had never joined.

35 quotation(s) for code: C. WORKPLACE DANGERS/STRESSES
P 1: 2_JohnnieAndrews.txt - 1:9 (131:137) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T: Right, right. Can you describe any difficult or dangerous aspects to your job?
JA: There wasn't any because I was in this little room all by myself, when I got to be a darkroom tech. I was in this little room all by myself, so any harm that came to me was because of me; and I was looking out for myself.

P 1: 2_JohnnieAndrews.txt - 1:10 (139:151) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T: Yes. Let me just probe a little bit with you, Sister Johnnie. When you started as a nursing assistant and you were transporting patients, did you have to lift them?
JA: Yes, you had to lift the patients. Some had to helped into a wheelchair; some had to be helped onto a cart.
T: Was that difficult at times?

Appendix A (continued)

JA: No, because mostly you got help on the floors at that time. But when I left they told me there wasn't any help. If you did not take your help from your department you did not get help. But it was not like that then.

P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:11 (154:176) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

J: Well, in the dietary we had the knives, hot water, and we had steam pressure. You had to be very careful with that because if you were making grits, if the water got low, the pot (laughs) top could blow off!
T: Okay.
J: So you had to be careful with that, and if we were pouring water out; you had to watch out for the boiling water. We had knives that came in every week (they were sent out to be sharpened), and you had to be very careful with those because if you put them in the sink with other dishes, if you weren't careful, you could get cut. So we were always cautious about that.
T: Right.
J: And we worked with a slicer, slicing our own meat sometimes.

P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:12 (178:235) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T: Okay. Can you remember any other potentially dangerous situations? For example, did you ever encounter water on the floor, or anything like that?
J: Yeah, well (laughs), that is, if the drains were plugged up.
T: Yes.
J: The sewage would back up.
T: In your workplace?
J: Yes.
T: Oh, my goodness! J: It would flood the halls in the dietary, flood the outside, and we would have to have somebody come in and unplug the drains. But we would still end up walking in it because we were trying to get the stuff out of the way because, the job was to keep going (laughs). We still had to do the job even though it wasn't sanitary
T: Okay.
J: We still had to do the job and we made it work and it was hazardous to really be walking in it. When we had the floods, we would sweep the dirty water toward the drains as much as possible.
T: Right, and I would imagine it was also hazardous from the standpoint of germs and possible diseases?
J: Yeah, that's true, because it was sewage (laughs).
T: Okay. Let me just probe with you a little bit. Was that a situation that lasted for a long period of time?
J: Only if we had bad rains or if the residents would put stuff in the toilets.
T: Okay.
J: And you know how that would back up after a while.
T: Right, right.
J: That only happened every once in a while. It wasn't a regular thing.

Appendix A (continued)

P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:8 (70:76) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

A. You just had to be careful, water and stuff on the floor, and you had improper wiring; it was a mixture of a lot of stuff.
Q. Let me just probe a little bit, Sister Dixon. What did you feel were some of the most noticeable dangers?
A. Water, mostly water on the floor.

P 4: 12_EdnaBarden.txt - 4:10 (134:186) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

Q. Okay. Would you describe any difficult or dangerous aspects that you found on your job?
A. No, not at the time, I didn't see any. I know that the room where they washed dishes was too small and as I progressed up the ladder and learned the different skills, you could see that what you were being put in was not right because of the heat. And what they would use to wrap the pipes...
Q. Yes...
A. ...something like asbestos.
Q. Right.
A. And you didn't know anything about it.
Q. Right
A. I don't know if they knew but, you know, that was a danger to them to people's health.
Q. Right
A. And I would often, after I moved up and out of that area, keep complaining, complaining to the girls about "How could you work in this steam and heat like this?"
Q. Yes.
A. But at first, you know, when we started working there, there wasn't too much help because management used throw-away dishes. But later, when management started using real silverware and real plates and so forth, the work load on you was heavier.
Q. Yes.
A. See?
Q. Yes. So you didn't feel that there were any dangerous aspects of your job when you first started?
A. No, that's when I first started. But after the Walkers took over, they started upgrading everything, then it seemed to make the work more difficult because you were used to using a lot of throwaways.
Q. Right.
A. And they thought if they used the dishes, the cost would be cheaper than using the paper ware.

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:8 (70:82) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

Q. Alright. Please describe any difficult or dangerous aspects to your job.
A. Well, we transcribed reports 8 hours a day. We started using typewriters and we progressed to computers and computers could be a little hazardous to your health, you know. And we had to have our room redid to accommodate us because there were work-related injuries.
Q. Okay, for example, perhaps carpal tunnel?

Appendix A (continued)

A. Correct.

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:9 (89:100) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

Q. Let me just probe with you a little bit. Was it a stressful job?
A. At times, yes.
Q. What made it so stressful?
A. Well, you had doctors who spoke broken English and it took time to get to learn their dialog, so it made it kind of, you know, a little rough at times. And then you had to take your report up and maybe ask them exactly what are they talking about.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:15 (200:220) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T: Okay. Please describe any difficult or dangerous aspects to your first job at Methodist as a nurses' aide.
W: Basically, I could say that if you were noting physician orders, if you didn't know what you were doing (and a lot of the nurses would depend on you), that could be dangerous to the patient if what you wrote was not exactly what that order said.
T: Right. Did you find that to be stressful?
W: Oh yes, yes. That is a stressful thing.
T: So, at times you found that you had the responsibility of this patient's care pretty much in your hands; interpreting what the doctor was saying?
W: Exactly, that's right. Exactly.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:16 (222:232) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T: Okay. As a nurses' aide did you ever have to lift anyone?
W: Sure, yes.
T: Was that difficult at times?
W: Not for me, because of my being a heavy set woman. That is what I call myself. And knowing body mechanics, I didn't have a problem that way.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:17 (244:274) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T: Fine. Moving to your current job, would you say there are any difficult or any dangerous aspects to that job as a unit secretary?
W: None other than that what I have said: transcribing the doctors' orders. That's a stressful thing at Southlake. When that unit opened out there, it was a new facility, so basically I started there—everybody started from point zero. It was like a learning experience for everybody. It was like I was molded in that one unit, getting to do doctors' orders and reading and transcribing the orders; it was a hard road. But once I got the hang of it and knew the doctors and could make out the writing and everything, it was okay.
T: Right.
W: So that was my hardest thing to get used to. If sometimes I really didn't know what it was, I would ask the nurses and they didn't know what it was. It was a lot of times that they had to call the doctor. But a lot of times I felt that (and I feel) that I really pulled them through just from my previous experience with that writing, with the transcribing.

Appendix A (continued)

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:12 (178:192) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T: Alright. Thinking back to 1976, can you describe any difficult or dangerous aspects to your job as a nurse's aide?
L: The difficulty I had was the problem with injections, we were working without gloves, because we had to do hands on patients, and at that time we did not wear gloves to handle the patients. And my fear was being infected by what the patient might have had.
T: Yes. Did you ever have any problems with needle sticks?
L: No.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:13 (196:231) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

L: In 1980, when I was an aide out at Southlake, I contacted sarcoidosis from a patient.
T: Okay, and just for those of us who are not medically inclined (laughs), what is sarcoidosis?
L: It is a lung disease. The patient was spitting up a lot of mucous with me going in and out of the room a lot.
T: Yes.
L: Because they kept sending me to this patient..
T: Right.
L: I contacted the infection and I think it causes pneumonia.
T: Right. This was in 1980?
L: Right.
T: Okay. Were you not provided with any masks to use?
L: They said that it was not airborne, so we could go in and out because it was just a special precaution. No TB was found, so we could go in and out of the room.
T: Yes, yes. But nonetheless, you still came down with this?
L: I did come down with it.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:14 (233:248) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T: When you began working as a nurse's aide, did you ever have to lift any patients?
L: Yes.
T: Was that at all difficult?
L: Very much so.
T: Did you run the risk of injuring yourself?
L: Yes, I did.
T: Okay. Did you ever injure yourself?
L: Not by lifting patients.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:15 (250:288) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T: I see. Can you think of any other difficult to dangerous aspects of your nursing assistant job?
L: No.
T: Are there any difficult or dangerous aspects to your job currently?
L: Very much so.

Appendix A (continued)

T: Would you please describe them?
L: I have been burned since I've been in this position.
T: Okay, is that the burn on your hand?
L: Yes, it is.
T: Okay.
L: I got several more burns to go along with it. I am being trained in a cooking position that I never wanted to work. If I wanted to be a cook I could have been a cook fourteen years ago.
T: I hear you.
L: But they made me work this position, and now I am getting burned. I have water splashed on me, hot water all of the time.
T: Yes.
L: There are cans falling in the department, and I have to make sure that I don't get hit. And then there is the lifting, and the pushing and the pulling of carts. I have torn my rotator cuff.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:16 (290:331) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T: Okay. Let me probe with you just a bit, because I having worked in a kitchen or two myself. I know that sometimes you find yourself dealing with water on the floor. Have you ever had a problem with water on the floor?
L: Water, grease, and salt.
T: Okay.
L: The drains overflow or the pot runs over, and you have to be careful with the water on the floor.
T: Right.
L: And sometimes we have a lot of floods and you have to be careful, but it is hard working in there. Trying to lean into the pots that are too tall for you.
T: Yes.
L: And you got to step down in the area where there is grease and you take a chance of falling over into the pot.
T: Right.
L: Hurting up under your arm trying to reach into the pot that is too tall for you or reaching on top of a shelf that is over your head that you can't reach. I also have to use the meat slicer and when I'm using the meat slicer I am scared I am going to cut my finger on the meat slicer. The gloves are too large for me to work with.
T: Yes.
L: I had to demand to get some smaller gloves, because I was afraid that I was going to cut the tips of my fingers off.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:17 (333:342) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T: I understand. Given the conditions that you work with everyday and the various shifts that you rotate, do you ever find this job stressful?
L: Very much so, everyday.
T: Alright.
L: I wish there was a way that I could leave up out of there, but I can't.

Appendix A (continued)

P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:9 (119:134) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T: Alright. Please try to describe to the best of your recollection any difficult or dangerous aspects to your job?
C: The only dangerous aspect to the job was, you could get burned from the ovens.
T: Yes.
C: You could get steam burns from the big kettles.
T: Yes.
C: And you could get hurt if you didn't know how to use a knife.

P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:10 (136:147) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T: Okay. Now may I probe that with you just a little bit? Working in dietary, did you ever find that there were any other conditions, perhaps water on the floor or something like that?
C: Yes. We had problems with that sometimes.
T: It would become slippery?
C: Yes.

P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:11 (149:166) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T: Okay. Can you think of any other possible hazards that you had to deal with?
C: Well, we had to deal with the heat in the dish room, because we didn't have air conditioning or windows.
T: Ahhhh, okay. So, I guess it was really hot in there?
C: It was really hot in there, and then the pipes were always wrapped, so we figured it was asbestos. I found that out after I left there.
T: Asbestos?
C: Yes, I thought it was that.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:15 (274:308) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T. Okay. Marion, would you please describe any difficult or dangerous aspects to your job that you can think of?
M. Well, dangerous thing that could happen is that I could transcribe an order incorrectly and then the nurse sometimes don't check what I transcribe and it could harm, be harmful to the patient.
T. That would certainly be a danger to the patient. Are there any aspects of your job that you feel are potentially dangerous to you?
M. Yeah, because sometimes we have patients that come in that should be in isolation and they don't put them in isolation. They don't tell me and then they bring the specimens and want to sit at my desk and I don't know what those patients have or what type of infection there is and I could take that to myself or home to my children.
T. Right. Well, are there no safeguards in place to keep that kind of thing from happening?
M. There is a safeguard but they're kind of lax about it, sometimes they don't even know until after certain tests have been run and then it comes back and says that the patient has this disease or they should be placed in isolation. So you have been going in and out of

Appendix A (continued)

the room where things have transpired on your desk as far as the charts, physician going in there and washing their hands, and all of those germs are being placed right there in front of you.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:16 (310:316) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T. Right, right. Are there any other things that make your job difficult?
M. Sometimes we have faulty equipment there and then that's what we do use, equipment and it's faulty, I touch it the wrong way, it could have ah, backfire on me

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:17 (318:348) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

Q. Okay, let me probe just a little bit with you, Marion and Bernita. In past discussions you talked about some of the pressures that you work under. Would you say that you work in a stressful environment?
M. Most definitely we do because it's pressure on you that you have to get so much done, you have to do this and they are constantly increasing things that you have to do within the time allowed for you to work that day and then there's co-workers there, stressing out because they're having problems so you're trying to be compassionate towards them plus compassionate towards the patients and first get your job done. Some days you just feel like throwing up both hands and say 'it's not even worth this'. Some days you might have charts that's just over ran because you are doing so much work, some days, like we have 33 patients on the floor. Not only do I have those charts 33 times, there's always more than 2 doctors on a chart, so I might wind up with those charts 3 times a day. And the charts, and plus the new admissions that's coming in. And you have nurses running over "I need this stack, stack I need right now," they want you to stop whatever you're doing to try and help them out. Well, then, who's going to help you out? And you're trying to get all of your work done before the next shift come in. And so it is kind of stressful.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:18 (350:372) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T. It's stressing me out just listening! Thank you. Bernita?
B. Disadvantages are, you know, we can make a mistake sometimes, it could be put on the wrong patient, ah, when we order medications or if we can't read the medication and we put it in wrong. The good thing about that is that the nurses are suppose to check behind us and then the pharmacy will sometimes look at the order and that will help us out. But it is kind of hard sometimes because it can happen and then when computers go down, we have to go back writing by hand like we did when we first started as secretaries. Just, it's just, you know, kind of tough sometimes having to sit there and work with everybody shouting your name out because there's one of us and sometimes 7 or 8 of them of the nurses and the rest of the staff and everybody wants your attention. Everybody comes to us for the help. They stop right at the nurse's station and they ask for the unit secretary's help.

Appendix A (continued)

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:9 (228:265) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T: Continuing with our question, I had initially asked you to try, to the best of your ability, to describe any difficult or dangerous aspects to your job as a nurse's aid at St. Mary's.
LS: Well, we had isolations and there was a danger of catching the disease.
T: Yes.
LS: And although you would have proper attire, you might still be exposed to the disease.
T: Right, right.
LS: If you was lifting you might hurt your back.
T: Right. Sometimes if you had to lift someone it could be hazardous to you?
LS: Yes.
T Okay. Were there any other dangerous situations that you found yourself exposed to as a nurses' aid?
LS: At times radiation implants were used and we would still have to take care of the patient. Therefore, we may have still been exposed
T: Yes.
LS: You could only stay a certain amount of time in the room.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:10 (131:138) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

Q. Okay. Describe any difficult or dangerous aspects to your first job?
A. Well, being a nurse's assistant, you have to think about the needle sticks, some of the germs, feces, patients doing bodily harm to you, waste management for the things that are not sterile or bio hazardous materials, in other words..

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:11 (140:150) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

Q. Okay. With your current job, Priscella, what are some of the difficult or dangerous aspects if any?
A. Well, continuing on with that and being a pharmacy technician dealing directly with meds, chemo meds and virus meds, vaccines and things of that nature, still needle sticks, waste, bio- hazardous waste, being confined in a building with no windows, air filters, air conditioning, humidity, just weather conditions inside the department.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:7 (89:121) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T: I see. Please try to describe any difficult or dangerous aspects of your job.
S: I don't think that there were any dangerous aspects of my job, cause most of the time it was sitting.
T: Okay, may I probe with you on this just a little bit? Did you ever have an occasion when a person who was sick would get up and leave his or her room and come to engage you in conversation or get your attention at your desk?
S: Oh, yes all the time.
T: Okay.
S: Now can I interject this?
T: Yes, please.
S: Now in '76, when I started I was a nursing assistant.

Appendix A (continued)

T: Okay.
S: And I did that for one year.
T: Alright.
S: Then I was transferred into unit secretary.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:8 (128:144) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

S: Yes, because as a nursing assistant when I first started, we didn't use plastic gloves.
T: Right.
S: So everything you did for a patient had to be done with your hands.
T: Right.
S: And I felt that that was very unsafe, because it was unsanitary.
T: Yes, yes. S: But, they said OSHA set the rules, so that is what we had to do.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:9 (157:168) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

T: Okay. If I may let me just probe a little bit further on this with regards to safety. Did you ever have to go into a room where a person had a disease that could be communicated through the air?
S: Yes.
T: Did you have any kind of protection when you went into those rooms?
S: Only a gown and sometimes a mask.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:12 (265:315) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

TB: I didn't think so, because of what happened one day when the paramedics came in for a resident. This man had AIDs. We didn't know about it, but one of the paramedics came and when they got the guy on the truck, the nurse left me in the room with the patient, who was bleeding.
T: Right.
TB: She looked at her hands and she said "Theresa, I'll be back. I've got to get some gloves for myself." She went and got heavy gloves.
T: Yes.
TB: We had the lousy gloves like you dye your hair with.
T: Right.
TB: There were no secure gloves for the people to work with the residents.
T: Right.
TB: And she came back and she told me to keep on putting ice in his mouth, and I said wait a minute, why is she running to go and get gloves? She didn't say that she was going to bring me none back.
T: Right.
TB: So I stopped. Something clicked...
T: Yes.
TB: ...to stop. And that is when the paramedics came and got him and took him out to be taken to the hospital. Before the paramedic pulled off, he came back him and told them off. He said, "You could have told me that he had AIDs!" That is how we found out.
T: Right.

Appendix A (continued)

TB: And I didn't like that. I said that they didn't care enough for us.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:13 (319:325) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

TB. The only other things that we had to worry about was like residents hitting you and knocking you down, or biting you. That is normal for old people, 'cause you know they don't want to do nothing, and their mind is somewhat shot.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:14 (333:348) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

TB: I lifted everyday.
T: Alright. Did you ever find that to be strenuous?
TB: Very strenuous.
T: Okay, so even though you may not have regarded that as dangerous, it could have caused you to injure yourself in some fashion, could it not?
TB: True, because a patient threw me down. This lady was eighty something years old. I was trying to get her dressed. I had got her out of the bed and she didn't want to get up,

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:15 (375:402) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

TB: When a man hit me and I went across the floor. When I asked somebody to help me, I think that was Wallace with me that day; I think it was. We had a man and he didn't want to take a bath, and we were restraining him in a chair to take him into the bathing room and to put him down in the tub.
T: Yes.
TB: And somebody (I think it was Wallace or somebody) let go of his hand, or he got loose from her, and I got hit and my glasses went one way and I went the other. I said now I know when they talk about rubber legs when a boxer hits somebody.
T: Right.
TB: They have rubber legs and you go down. But that is normal.
T: Alright. You say it's normal! (laughs)
TB: I am just saying it is normal because people's minds are going and they don't know what they are doing.

P14: 13_MWLP.txt - 14:11 (166:174) (Super) Codes: [C. Workplace Dangers/Stresses]

Q. Okay, the reason I'm asking that is because I know it's been awhile since you did that but was that difficult at times to pick other people up?
A. Yes.
Q. And perhaps even dangerous sometimes?
A. Could be.

36 quotation(s) for code: D1. RACIAL DISCRIMINATION
P 1: 2_JohnnieAndrews.txt - 1:13 (170:189) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [E. Personal strategies]

Appendix A (continued)

T: Alright. Were there any workplace disadvantages or problems that you believe you experienced because of your race?

JA: You know, I had one supervisor on the floor that did not call herself prejudice, but she was. To me she was because when she first took over that floor, she said, "You will be off every third week-end." So the third week-end bypassed and I was not off. Three week-ends bypassed and I was not off. Then five bypassed and I knew I would not be off. Six week-ends passed and I wasn't off so I told her I wanted to talk to her and she looked at me very strange and she said, "Okay." We went into the conference room and I said, " Lottie has been off and you think she is white. She is not white; she is black like I am. But you can tell I am black because of my complexion. Why haven't I've been off? Because you think I'm a good nigga. But I am not. I am not that good nigga." She said, "Oh , Johnnie, please don't say that, please don't say that! You will be off next week-end. Next week-end I was off, so that was that.

P 1: 2_JohnnieAndrews.txt - 1:14 (191:203) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [F. Evaluation of PS]

T: Okay. So you handled that situation.

JA: I handled that real quick. I just nipped that bud in the head real quick, because I knew how. I had heard about it. I had heard that she was prejudiced. I did not know it. I did not experience that because she treated me okay, just like she did the rest of the nurses' aides. If you were in blue you were not treated too good no way and I was in blue.

T: Right.

JA: Mmmmm. So I let her know I wasn't a good nigga, though. I told her I wasn't a good nigga.

P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:15 (289:294) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination]

T: Okay. Jean, what workplace disadvantages do you believe you experienced at Wildwood because of your race?

J: None.

P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:23 (477:511) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3.Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

J: And we were single parents, didn't make much money, so they assumed that we were not gonna go out. The Crumps said that we were uneducated and simply following behind Alice Bush—who was a White union rep. They said this to put us down and weaken us, but it didn't work. T: Okay. Now, Jean, let me just probe a little bit with you on this question, because earlier in our conversation you had said that you did not think that you had experienced any disadvantages because you were a women. You also said that you didn't think that you had experienced any disadvantages at the workplace because of your race. Now, here might be a good place to think about what you just said because if Thomas and Maureen Crump... J: Mmmm, mmmmmm...

T: ...were not paying you what they should have been paying you, and if they were not respecting you because they thought you were just poor, black women (many of whom were single heads of households), aren't those problems that are to some extent related to

Appendix A (continued)

the fact that you were Black and women? J: Yeah, you are right. But you know, you didn't think of it (laughs) that way, but now that you put it like that, you do. Yeah, you are right.

P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:10 (95:102) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination]

Q. Okay. What workplace disadvantages, Sister Dixon, do you believe you have experienced because of your race?
A. Well, I didn't have any.
Q. You didn't have any?
A. I did not have any.

P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:12 (117:133) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination]

Q. Sister Dixon, I asked you just a moment or two ago, whether or not you thought you had experienced any workplace disadvantages or problems because of your race and your answer was that you hadn't experienced any. Can we clarify that? Let me ask this question in a different way, please. Methodist Hospital has been called a difficult place to work by many people and people have often mentioned that they felt there was quite a bit of racism and prejudice there. Did you see any of that?
A. Yes, I did. Yes, I did.
Q. Okay. So, in other words you're saying (I think I'm hearing you say) that in the department where you worked you did not experience any racism?
A. Well, when I first started I was in the dish room and this is in the dish room where I'm talking about. It was all black in that dish room, so we did not experience that. But once we got outside of the dish room that is where I began to experience the racism and the prejudice.

P 4: 12_EdnaBarden.txt - 4:12 (226:234) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination]

Q. Okay, were there any workplace disadvantages that you believed you experienced because of your race?
A. No, like I say, I have never worked anyplace but there, so I really didn't experience anything wrong that I seen. When we first went there, the dress code was very strict; we wasn't allowed to wear pants. Then the dresses were so short that they were not really considered suitable. Eventually they started letting you wear pants, you know.

P 4: 12_EdnaBarden.txt - 4:17 (290:314) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination]

Q. Alright. Can you describe any other workplace conflicts or disadvantages that you experienced as a black woman worker?
A. Well, as I said, I never really worked anyplace but Wildwood Manor. And I never experienced anything as a black woman, but I know I had a white boss (the owner of the place was white) and maybe she might have been a little jealous. She made a comment one day that I didn't like. The owner had asked us not to bring him any sweets with his meal as I was about to deliver the trays up for them. His wife (who was also one

Appendix A (continued)

of the owners) apparently didn't know that he had spoken to us. So when I delivered the tray to them and put the sweets out and he didn't get one, he said, "Where's mine?" Then she spoke up and said, "Well, it's his food and he can eat what he wants." And this was a white woman saying this to me.

Q. Yes.

A. And I was saying to her, "Well, I was only following what he said." So he said to her, "Well she knows what I said and she's doing right." You know, so, I didn't like the way she put it in that tone as if I was keeping something from him.

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:10 (102:116) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS] [G. Collective strategies]

Q. Okay. Please describe any workplace disadvantages and conflicts that you experienced on the job?

A. Well, being the only black transcriptionist, and being on top, the person with the most seniority, there were a lot of whites that didn't like that and they would go around and say little things and they would take it back to management. But by being the top black person there was nothing management could do because I had a contract.

Q. You've been waiting to laugh about that for a long time, right? (both laughing)

A. But I did that, you know, hey, that's how I went. I had a contract to back me up, so, I lived by the contract.

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:11 (123:129) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination]

Q. Okay. Were there any workplace disadvantages that you believe you experienced because of your race?

A. No, because being a transcriptionist is like you're really needed and when you get good at it, they don't want to lose you so they are pleased with just about anything that you do.

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:15 (161:182) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence Discrimination]

Q. Right. Pat, please describe any other workplace disadvantages and conflicts that you experienced as a black woman worker. That you can think of, that is.

A. Hmm. Well, in radiology, we really didn't have the problems the office girls had. Now being a transcriptionist, they kind of left us alone. But I could see the other black girls that were in the office, how they treated them, how they were forced to work different shifts and they had to stay over if some one called off. They were made to work another entire 8 hours shift, and I didn't think that was right.

Q. Right.

A. And then they would wonder why would these girls fall asleep? Well, they have already completed one 8 hour shift and then they had to continue on to do another 8 hour shift. They were tired and you know they didn't get off until like midnight, you know, and they'd work maybe 7 am to midnight.

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:23 (313:334) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS] [G. Collective Strategies]

Appendix A (continued)

Q. Okay, okay. Well, you've already said that you did not have too many problems as an individual worker. But you did mention that you had a conflict of sorts with your supervisor, and I believe you said that you talked to your supervisor about that. What results were you trying to achieve through your individual efforts to handle that particular problem?
A. Well, it was sort of like a black and white issue and I just wanted to let her know...
Q. When you say Black and White, you mean it was a racial issue?
A. Right. I just wanted to let her know that you can't push everybody over. You know, you have paper work and you have grounds and as long as you stand your ground and you know what you're doing, there is not too much they can do. You know, management and my supervisor didn't like it when I had to leave a division to go handle other grievances. But that was union time and I had to represent other employees.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:20 (329:381) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS]

T: I understand. Well, your previous answer brings us to this question. Were there any workplace disadvantages you believe you experienced because of your race?
W: Yeah.
T: Would you care to elaborate on any of them?
W: I know at one time, the head nurse at that time was Mrs. Hofferth, and she would get feedback from her nurses on different things. If they would get upset with me, if I would ask them something or just say for example like I had a order or something and they are to busy and they didn't want to call the doctor, they would go to Mrs. Hofferth. I remember one incident we had. I can't remember exactly what it was, but Mrs. Hofferth came to me and she was saying that the nurse said this and that. And I was thinking, you know, the nurse, the nurse. I said, "When do I get a say in something?"
T: Yes.
W: I said, "When can you hear my opinion about something?"
T: Yes
W: I just spoke like that to her and, I guess it kind of startled her because she looked at me and she just turned and left.
T: Right.
W: But after that, when I would ask for a clarification, or when the nurses would get in a conflict with me about something and they would go to her; she would say, "No, you go back and you ask her, what to do." And after that, she kind of stood back and let them come to me.
T: I see.
W: Then I could feel some relief from the tension between us, and the nurses would try to listen or to understand what I was asking. Then we communicated a little bit better.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:21 (387:430) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS]

W: Yes. There was another time when my head nurse (on four wing three) came to me.
T: This is Mrs. Hofferth?

Appendix A (continued)

W: Yes.
T: Alright.
W: And she came to me and said, "I think a patient hasn't received a tray."
T: Yes
W: She asked me if I had called for the tray? And I told her, "Yeah, I called." And she said, "Why are looking at me that way?" (laughs) I said, "What do you mean, what way? What way am I looking at you?" Then I looked at her again and I said, "Lord!" just like that, and turned my head. I didn't know what she was going to say and I didn't know what she meant. But when I said, "Lord!" like that, it kind of stunned her, you know, and she turned and she left and she went into the office.
T: Right
W: But she never came to me with it, with it anymore, she never said anything else about it. I don't know what it was on my face.
T: Yes, but she never came back?
W: She never came back. I don't know. At the time I was in another frustrating situation. I think I was kind of bogged down and had work up to here, you know?
T: But she never came back? So in the end it just worked out?
W: It did.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:23 (453:502) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

W: I don't know if this was because I am Black or no; but I know a lot of times I've worked there with this air blowing down on me and we had called Plant Op or Maintenance Department to come up and try to switch the fan around.
T: Yes.
W: And it looked at one time like it was switched around, and I went on vacation. And I guess about two or three weeks after that when I got back it was blowing back again.
T: Right.
W: And from that point on it was like they never could turn it again, you know? It was like, the fan couldn't be turned. I had to start wearing turtlenecks sweaters to keep the air off of my shoulders!
T: So you never could get that situation fixed?
W: No.
T: While you were not on the floor, there was apparently someone who took your place?
W: You mean like when I'm off?
T: Yes.
W: Yeah, sure.
T: So, in other words, it seems that the fan or the air conditioning unit was turned in a certain way or a certain direction to suit that person?
W: Well, maybe not to suit them because the other black girls were complaining about the air too. So it was coming down.
T: I see. And you never could get it fixed?
W: No, not after that first time. (laughs)

Appendix A (continued)

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:18 (345:365) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination]

T. Vanessa, do you believe you have ever had any workplace disadvantages that you've experienced because of your race?
L: Yes.
T: Could you please elaborate?
L: When I worked at Southlake (I transferred out there to Southlake in 1980) I worked as a nurse's aide, and there was a white female patient, she refused treatment from me, she didn't want me to wait on her because she said I was a down-home girl from the South.
T: Yes.
L: So she didn't want a Black nurse's aide. So they told me never to go into that patient's room as long as she was there. I wasn't allowed to go into her room because I was black.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:19 (366:387) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination]

T: Now I want to be clear, so please allow me to probe with you. Are you saying that when this patient in the hospital said that she didn't want you as a black woman worker to work with her, that the administrators or the supervisors on duty told you that you should stay out of her room?
L Yes, the head nurse told me that she would get someone else to go in there, and "Do not go back into that room." If I went back in there I would get wrote up.
T: You would be written up?
L: I'd be written up.
T: Okay, okay. She didn't say anything about the insult to you as a human being and as a worker?
L: No.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:22 (389:427) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

T: Alright. Vanessa, do you believe you have ever experienced any workplace disadvantages because you are a woman?
L: Yes.
T: Please elaborate.
L: I feel that they decided to break down the kitchen and take away the full-time positions, because it is all females that they broke down from full time—with a lot of seniority—to part-time. The males, they haven't done anything to their hours. They haven't cut their pay or anything.
T: Yes.
L: But the females they cut, and the males they didn't.
T: Okay, and this situation is still going on?
L: Still going on.
T: Alright.
L: And none of them are black. All of the females that got cut were black.
T: Okay, and all the males who are still working are what race or nationality?
L: One is a Puerto Rican and one is Mexican and they both have less seniority.
T: Less seniority?

Appendix A (continued)

L: Less seniority.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:25 (481:510) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

T: Yes, yes. Are there any other workplace disadvantages and conflicts that you feel you have experienced as a black woman worker in the health care industry?
L: There is a lot. I feel working within Methodist Hospital?
T: Yes.
L: I just feel that certain things that happen there just because you are a female.
T: Go ahead.
L: You don't have the advantages that the rest of the people have out there, because if you are a black female you have a harder chance for advancement.
T: Yes.
L: But if you are a white female, you could advance yourself and you will stay there for a minute.
T: Yes.
L: But for Black females, it is more like they want to keep you down.

P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:13 (219:224) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination]

T: Okay. And did you have any workplace problems or disadvantages because of your race? Do you believe you had any because of your race?
C: No. No.

P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:20 (404:424) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

T: Okay. Now when you say you did not have medical insurance, did anyone who was working at Wildwood have medical insurance?
C: Yes. He had it for his staff and all of his supervisors.
T: Yes.
C: They had medical insurance.
T: But you didn't have it and other workers didn't have it?
C: But we didn't have it.
T: Okay.
C: The dietary department, maintenance, and nurses' aides didn't have it.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:24 (505:542) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination]

T. Thank you. What workplace disadvantages, Marion, do you believe that you have experienced because of your race?
M. The disadvantage that I know I've experienced there is because of what is happening right now with the secretary. It's like they watch everything you do, because she's black. They watch everything. And if a white secretary would come in and do the same thing, nothing is said.

Appendix A (continued)

T. Right.
M. And we're doing the same job, why is one being watched and one is not being watched? And this is what's happening. And even with the black RN, whatever she does, if she makes one mistake, she's called into the office because you could have hurt the patients. But now we had a nurse, an RN, who gave the patients the wrong medication and nothing was said about it except we just write up an incident report and call in the doctor. But with the black RN, she, all she forgot to do was to do the INO on a patient Monday, she was called into the office because they said that was detrimental. But I thought medication was more detrimental than measuring some one's urine.
T. Okay, would you just clarify, what is an INO?
M. Intake and out take. It's whatever the patient takes and how much they let, put out.
T. Okay, okay. So in terms of fluid?
M. In terms of fluid.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:25 (544:564) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D6. Denies discrimination]

T. Okay, all right, thank you. Bernita, same question, are there any workplace disadvantages that you believe that you have experienced because of your race?
B. I don't think I've experienced a whole lot because of my race. I think the biggest thing for us is favoritism. If you suck up to the boss, then you're okay, if you are in the clique or in the crowd with them, then you're okay but me, I just do what I have to do. I don't care whether they like me or not. I do my job and I go home. Anybody who doesn't like that, it's just too bad. And I have said to them on occasion, is it because I'm Black?
T. Right.
B. But they won't, of course they're not going to go with that. But I don't experience a whole lot of that, no.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:27 (593:639) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts] [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS]

B. When I was a CNA and we did not have a union at that time, my director's name was Rosemary Goff.
T. How do you spell that last name please?
B. G-O-U-G-H.
T. Okay, thank you.
B. Rosemary Gough had a nursing assistant there at the time, her name was Pamela Land, Pamela Land was white.
T. Yes.
B. And Pam used to do thing for Gough that of course, I wasn't going to do.
T. Right.
B. She cleaned her house on Saturdays and things such as that. So they showed favoritism towards her and the times when the schedule would come up, it might be my weekend off and I'd go back to the schedule and say, some one would say 'oh, you working this weekend?' and I'd say, no, I'm off. They'd look at the schedule and say, 'Bernita, you're working.' While during that time, they would change the schedule and they didn't have to tell you anything, which, you know, could have resulted in my being terminated. But I

Appendix A (continued)

had to go to Mrs. Gough and let her know that I do have a family and you can't just take my weekends, so I went in and told her that I wanted the next two weekends off and she gave me the next six because I told her that I'd never walked in anybody's shadow and wouldn't start today and if she and Pam wanted to do whatever, that was fine but not at my expense.

T. I see.

B. That was the only thing that I think that I've experienced as a disadvantage.

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:10 (267:298) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination]

T: I see. Would you try to describe any workplace disadvantages or conflicts that you experienced while you were working as a nurse's aide?

LS: Yes, we often had experiences. I'll give you an example. When I worked in pediatrics they were signing out the formula rooms to the Spanish-speaking workers. For some reason they weren't putting black workers in the formula room, but we did eventually get it straight.

T: Right, right. Now could you just elaborate a little bit so it's perfectly clear why this was a problem for you?

LS: We always felt like that everyone should do all of the duties on the job description. As black women we felt that everyone else who wasn't black was doing everything and we were not.

T: Yes.

LS: All the jobs on the job description should be distributed evenly.

T: Right. Some people were allowed to work in these rooms and you were not?

LS: Right.

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:12 (350:362) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination]

LS: Before 1980, it was more racism in the hospital, but by 1980 it was okay. You know it wasn't like it was before.

T: Right, right. So when you began it was not the best situation in which to work?

LS: No.

T: Okay, but then you also said that the union was established by around 1977?

LS: Right.

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:52 (1520:1531) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [I2. Negative views on union] [X. Striking quote]

LS: Yeah, well sometimes, I have been upset when one of our supervisors out of New York, didn't send me to negotiations because I was black. Eventually, after some work within our union, we got that part straightened out too.

T: Yes.

LS: But you know we had some little set- backs like that to within the union, you know.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:12 (152:166) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

Appendix A (continued)

Q. Very good, thank you. What workplace disadvantages do you believe you have experienced, Priscella because of your race?

A. Well, coming into Methodist, I was a very young lady and I was looked upon as being, I guess you can say, a cocky person or someone who didn't understand the experience of the workplace. So that was a disadvantage for me and also being a black female was also a disadvantage. And then just to have come in on that level as a nurse's aide (they wanted to deem that job as a low self esteem job). It did not seem like a "low-self-esteem job for me. So still, things have changed but not that much.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:14 (216:227) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination]

A. But the workplace itself, where I am in the pharmacy, I just don't like it because we don't have windows. And that's all we've been told: we can't have windows because of the thievery of the population in that area of the city, so they just fear. That's what I say. The whites down there in the hospital, they're scared to give us windows, we could have moved to a different spot but no. And that's always been a thorn in my side for the pharmacy department. Understanding the security and this, but it could have been done a little bit better.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:16 (243:260) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS]

A. Well, this is way up north, they say the Northerners show their prejudice and their racism openly. I might have been tempted on several occasions to keep quiet; but I am the type of person that has a voice, I've got a voice that will say what's on my mind. So, if it had come to me in any type of racism or prejudice, I simply corrected it and let them know where my place was, or where their place should be with me regarding this situation. I think that right now, hospital management is trying to define the union workers there at the hospital as misleading people or people that think that they have so much more than what management feels we should have. I mean, we're human beings and we have rights and we should be dealt with respectfully, and sometimes that just doesn't come over.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:47 (1448:1458) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination]

A. This has been told by supervisors who went over to employees' houses, and here's all the medical stuff at their houses. If you're going to do that, at least you could be smart enough to hid it. But this person wasn't even smart enough to hide it, they just left it open and they knew they got it from the hospital but did they do anything? Nope. White on white, Caucasian on Caucasian and nothing was done. But he told me, I mean, what was I to do?

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:20 (524:526) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination]

TB: At St. Margaret's I also had some problems with some white patients who were prejudiced.

Appendix A (continued)

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:21 (530:571) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [E. Personal strategies]

TB: By me working at St. Margaret's I had trouble with the aides and with the patients. We had one patient who came in and she didn't want you to touch her food if you were black.
T: Okay.
TB: One day I just got tired, and I was being nasty. [I said, "On this floor right now, it is all black aides today. So you have to deal with me. So I am going to touch everything—even your clothes—and everything that I put on you, (laughs) so you will have to get used to that."] She didn't like that. I said, "Well, you will have to go on another floor if you want to, because it is all black today and you will have to deal with it, and I said I am black/ white and don't have to deal with you, but I am touching everything and I open everything up. She didn't like that and started screaming, and the nurse came out and I said, "She don't want me to touch nothing." So she said, "Send her another tray up." The resident said, "I want another tray," and I said, "Well, sit it up there and who is going to open it up for you? That white nurse is not going to come in here and help you."
T: Right.
TB: The nurses didn't even go in there. Her food sat there.
T: And she didn't eat it? TB: She didn't eat it that day. She didn't want me to touch it.
T: Right.
TB: I was her aide that day.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:22 (583:612) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [E. Personal strategies]

TB: At one time, there were White patients who didn't want any black workers to touch their food or medicine, and an RN who was working that shift made up all of the medications that I was supposed to pass out to patients. But it would have been illegal for me to pass medications made up by the RN. So I reminded her that it would be illegal for me to go ahead and pass the medication that she had prepared. Even though I knew it was illegal for me to pass the medications, the RN went with me and she would enter the rooms of patients who didn't want me in their rooms.
T: Right.
TB: I could not pass that medication out because they didn't want my color in there.
T: Right.
TB: And I had to deal with that. I said that's odd. I said I can't give them their medication because of my color, but that is how it is set up at St. Anthony's which is like a nursing home, and they would not let me pass the medication in that room, cause the whites didn't want a black person touching it.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:25 (656:665) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination]

TB: Some people didn't know what color I was. I don't understand that and they had to find out. One of the Mexican-American workers at Wildwood actually came into a room where I was working, and asked me what nationality I was. He was interested, and a

Appendix A (continued)

bunch of other workers wanted to know. So after I told him that I was "black, white, and Indian," he went back and told the other workers.

P14: 13_MWLP.txt - 14:13 (191:211) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination]

Q. Okay. Mildred, what workplace disadvantages do you believe you have experienced because of your race?
A. I can't say if it's because of my race or maybe it's the area and location with my bosses now, okay?
Q. Yes.
A. We are in a black neighborhood. Ninety-nine percent of our residents are black. And I feel that they just don't care.
Q. The administrators?
A. The administrators.
Q. Okay.
A. The company itself.

18 quotation(s) for code: D2. GENDER DISCRIMINATION
P 1: 2_JohnnieAndrews.txt - 1:12 (164:168) (Super) Codes: [D2. Gender Discrimination]

T: Okay. Were there any workplace disadvantages or problems that you believe you experienced because you are a woman?
JA: None whatsoever.

P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:16 (296:303) (Super) Codes: [D2. Gender Discrimination]

T: Alright. What workplace disadvantages do you believe you experienced because you were a women?
J: None really, because most of the women – most of the facility was (laughs) run by women. You know, we had more women there.

P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:23 (477:511) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

J: And we were single parents, didn't make much money, so they assumed that we were not gonna go out. The Crumps said that we were uneducated and simply following behind Alice Bush—who was a White union rep. They said this to put us down and weaken us, but it didn't work.
T: Okay. Now, Jean, let me just probe a little bit with you on this question, because earlier in our conversation you had said that you did not think that you had experienced any disadvantages because you were a women. You also said that you didn't think that you had experienced any disadvantages at the workplace because of your race. Now, here might be a good place to think about what you just said because if Thomas and Maureen Crump…
J: Mmmm, mmmmmm…

Appendix A (continued)

T: ...were not paying you what they should have been paying you, and if they were not respecting you because they thought you were just poor, black women (many of whom were single heads of households), aren't those problems that are to some extent related to the fact that you were Black and women?

J: Yeah, you are right. But you know, you didn't think of it (laughs) that way, but now that you put it like that, you do. Yeah, you are right.

P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:11 (104:115) (Super) Codes: [D2. Gender Discrimination]

Q. Alright. What workplace disadvantages do you believe you have experienced because you are a woman?

A. Well, at that place, it was filled, there was a woman, because they said that men could do more with ah, more better than woman were, but I didn't have no problem with that.

Q. Let me just probe with you just a little bit. You are saying that you did notice that there was a problem but you didn't necessarily have that particular problem yourself?

A. Right.

P 4: 12_EdnaBarden.txt - 4:13 (236:239) (Super) Codes: [D2. Gender Discrimination]

Q. Right. Were there any work place advantages that you believe you experienced because you were a woman?

A. No, not really.

P 4: 12_EdnaBarden.txt - 4:17 (290:314) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination]

Q. Alright. Can you describe any other workplace conflicts or disadvantages that you experienced as a black woman worker?

A. Well, as I said, I never really worked any place but Wildwood Manor. And I never experienced anything as a black woman, but I know I had a White boss (the owner of the place was white) and maybe she might have been a little jealous. She made a comment one day that I didn't like. The owner had asked us not to bring him any sweets with his meal as I was about to deliver the trays up for them. His wife (who was also one of the owners) apparently didn't know that he had spoken to us. So when I delivered the tray to them and put the sweets out and he didn't get one, he said, "Where's mine?" Then she spoke up and said, "Well, it's his food and he can eat what he wants." And this was a white woman saying this to me.

Q. Yes.

A. And I was saying to her, "Well, I was only following what he said." So he said to her, "Well she knows what I said and she's doing right." You know, so, I didn't like the way she put it in that tone as if I was keeping something from him.

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:12 (130:134) (Super) Codes: [D2. Gender Discrimination]

Q. Okay. Were there any workplace disadvantages you believed you have experienced because you are a woman?

A No.

Appendix A (continued)

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:15 (161:182) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

Q. Right. Pat, please describe any other workplace disadvantages and conflicts that you experienced as a black woman worker. That you can think of, that is.
A. Hmm. Well, in radiology, we really didn't have the problems the office girls had. Now being a transcriptionist, they kind of left us alone. But I could see the other Black girls that were in the office, how they treated them, how they were forced to work different shifts and they had to stay over if some one called off. They were made to work another entire 8 hours shift, and I didn't think that was right.
Q. Right.
A. And then they would wonder why would these girls fall asleep? Well, they have already completed one 8 hour shift and then they had to continue on to do another 8 hour shift. They were tired and you know they didn't get off until like midnight, you know, and they'd work maybe 7 am to midnight.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:22 (432:438) (Super) Codes: [D2. Gender Discrimination]

T: Let me move on, Sister Geraldine. Were there any workplace disadvantages that you believed you experienced because you are a woman?
W: I can't think of any disadvantages right now.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:22 (389:427) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

T: Alright. Vanessa, do you believe you have ever experienced any workplace disadvantages because you are a woman?
L: Yes.
T: Please elaborate.
L: I feel that they decided to break down the kitchen and take away the full-time positions, because it is all females that they broke down from full time—with a lot of seniority—to part-time. The males, they haven't done anything to their hours. They haven't cut their pay or anything.
T: Yes.
L: But the females they cut, and the males they didn't.
T: Okay, and this situation is still going on?
L: Still going on.
T: Alright.
L: And none of them are black. All of the females that got cut were Black.
T: Okay, and all the males who are still working are what race or nationality?
L: One is a Puerto Rican and one is Mexican and they both have less seniority.
T: Less seniority?
L: Less seniority.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:25 (481:510) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

Appendix A (continued)

T: Yes, yes. Are there any other workplace disadvantages and conflicts that you feel you have experienced as a black woman worker in the health care industry?
L: There is a lot. I feel working within Methodist Hospital?
T: Yes.
L: I just feel that certain things that happen there just because you are a female.
T: Go ahead.
L: You don't have the advantages that the rest of the people have out there, because if you are a black female you have a harder chance for advancement.
T: Yes.
L: But if you are a white female, you could advance yourself and you will stay there for a minute.
T: Yes.
L: But for Black females, it is more like they want to keep you down.

P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:14 (226:230) (Super) Codes: [D2. Gender Discrimination]

T: Alright. Do you believe that you had any workplace conflicts or disadvantages, because you were a woman?
C: No.

P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:20 (404:424) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

T: Okay. Now when you say you did not have medical insurance, did anyone who was working at Wildwood have medical insurance?
C: Yes. He had it for his staff and all of his supervisors.
T: Yes.
C: They had medical insurance.
T: But you didn't have it and other workers didn't have it?
C: But we didn't have it.
T: Okay.
C: The dietary department, maintenance, and nurses' aides didn't have it.

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:11 (308:325) (Super) Codes: [D2. Gender Discrimination] [X. Striking quote]

T: Alright. Let's shift to any workplace disadvantages that you believe you experienced because you were a woman?
LS: Well, when I worked as a union rep, I had women and men [who was workers at the hospital] to say that they needed a male rep, because the hospital was too smart for women.
T: You actually had people say that?
LS: Yes.
T: And these were co-workers?
LS: Yeah, these was workers at the hospital after I became a rep.

Appendix A (continued)

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:12 (152:166) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

Q. Very good, thank you. What workplace disadvantages do you believe you have experienced, Priscella because of your race?

A. Well, coming into Methodist, I was a very young lady and I was looked upon as being, I guess you can say, a cocky person or someone who didn't understand the experience of the workplace. So that was a disadvantage for me and also being a Black female was also a disadvantage. And then just to have come in on that level as a nurse's aide (they wanted to deem that job as a low self esteem job). It did not seem like a "low-self-esteem job for me. So still, things have changed but not that much.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:13 (168:208) (Super) Codes: [D2. Gender Discrimination]

Q. Okay. What workplace disadvantages do you believe you have experienced because you are a woman?

A. Oh, the ability to have a decent schedule, decent hours. To have things positioned correctly for women, or having the necessary things that will help a woman do her job a little better. Maybe even conversations and...

Q. You can go ahead an elaborate if you would on what you mean.

A. I'm trying to keep it square.

Q. Well, yeah, just go ahead and break it down.

A. Well, as far as work schedule is concerned, I know that the industry can't just say you can work this certain schedule but they don't seem to want to intervene or try to give in to the women who have children and families. I thought that this should have been spoken to in my department a little bit differently and as far as the industry is concerned, some places are different and it depends on what type people you work with, which ones will give you that opportunity to use family medical leave on certain things or to use your personal time off for certain things. Also the seating, room space, just being organized, is a disadvantage because when you work with different people and everybody's got their own way of doing things, that makes it harder to work collectively to get things done effectively. But if management would lay down the ruling as far as what should be done and how it should be done, that might help. So people can have a more continuity in their workplace. It's very difficult sometimes when you have men that don't realize that it takes the neatness and organization to also make a department run.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:15 (227:237) (Super) Codes: [D2. Gender Discrimination]

A. Regarding our wages, I found out a couple of years ago, a young man that was much, much younger than me (not only in age but in time) was making $2 more than me, so I rectified that, when I found that out. So that could be another stressful point as far as a disadvantage. Because management doesn't want you to talk about your wages. But of course, some of us have to delve into that because it is necessary for fairness. And I appreciate a fair trade with anything.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:26 (676:685) (Super) Codes: [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

Appendix A (continued)

A. Yes, when I first got hired at Wildwood, my supervisor [I think she was my supervisor], Miss King, told me I couldn't have a home, a place, an apartment to live in, or a car as long as I worked there. And I think that was my disadvantage, you know? Nobody should tell an employee that they can't prosper anywhere. That's the disadvantage that I think I had right there.

18 quotation(s) for code: D3. SOCIOECONOMIC DISCRIMINATION
P 1: 2_JohnnieAndrews.txt - 1:14 (191:203) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [F. Evaluation of PS]

T: Okay. So you handled that situation. JA: I handled that real quick. I just nipped that bud in the head real quick, because I knew how. I had heard about it. I had heard that she was prejudiced. I did not know it. I did not experience that because she treated me okay, just like she did the rest of the nurses' aides. If you were in blue you were not treated too good no way and I was in blue.
T: Right.
JA: Mmmmm. So I let her know I wasn't a good nigga, though. I told her I wasn't a good nigga.

P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:23 (477:511) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

J: And we were single parents, didn't make much money, so they assumed that we were not gonna go out. The Crumps said that we were uneducated and simply following behind Alice Bush—who was a White union rep. They said this to put us down and weaken us, but it didn't work. T: Okay. Now, Jean, let me just probe a little bit with you on this question, because earlier in our conversation you had said that you did not think that you had experienced any disadvantages because you were a women. You also said that you didn't think that you had experienced any disadvantages at the workplace because of your race. Now, here might be a good place to think about what you just said because if Thomas and Maureen Crump...
J: Mmmm, mmmmmm...
T: ...were not paying you what they should have been paying you, and if they were not respecting you because they thought you were just poor, black women (many of whom were single heads of households), aren't those problems that are to some extent related to the fact that you were black and women?
J: Yeah, you are right. But you know, you didn't think of it (laughs) that way, but now that you put it like that, you do. Yeah, you are right.

P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:13 (134:155) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

Q. I see, alright. Thank you for clarifying that. Would you please describe how you have been treated by other supervisors in the healthcare industry.
A. Well, I was treated pretty good by most.
Q. Could you say a little bit more about those who did not treat you well?

Appendix A (continued)

A. Well, I ah…..like in the cafeteria. That supervisor didn't treat me too well, but we got along pretty good, we understood each other. At least we respected each other. So there wasn't too much of that.

Q. Let me, if I can, let me just probe a little bit with you. What kinds of things happened in this particular, in the cafeteria? A. In the cafeteria, they had this particular supervisor who was over the cafeteria, and if you didn't have nothing to tell her concerning something about another co-worker, you didn't get a raise. And I never had anything to say to about co-workers because I had too much business of my own to take care of. That's why I never had nothing, so I never did get a raise. I didn't get a raise in 5 years, I had worked there 5 years for the same price, I mean for the same wages that I was hired in with.

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:15 (161:182) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

Q. Right. Pat, please describe any other workplace disadvantages and conflicts that you experienced as a black woman worker. That you can think of, that is.

A. Hmm. Well, in radiology, we really didn't have the problems the office girls had. Now being a transcriptionist, they kind of left us alone. But I could see the other black girls that were in the office, how they treated them, how they were forced to work different shifts and they had to stay over if some one called off. They were made to work another entire 8 hours shift, and I didn't think that was right.

Q. Right.

A. And then they would wonder why would these girls fall asleep? Well, they have already completed one 8 hour shift and then they had to continue on to do another 8 hour shift. They were tired and you know they didn't get off until like midnight, you know, and they'd work maybe 7 am to midnight.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:22 (389:427) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

T: Alright. Vanessa, do you believe you have ever experienced any workplace disadvantages because you are a woman?

L: Yes.

T: Please elaborate.

L: I feel that they decided to break down the kitchen and take away the full-time positions, because it is all females that they broke down from full time—with a lot of seniority—to part-time. The males, they haven't done anything to their hours. They haven't cut their pay or anything.

T: Yes.

L: But the females they cut, and the males they didn't.

T: Okay, and this situation is still going on?

L: Still going on.

T: Alright.

L: And none of them are black. All of the females that got cut were Black.

T: Okay, and all the males who are still working are what race or nationality?

L: One is a Puerto Rican and one is Mexican and they both have less seniority.

T: Less seniority?

Appendix A (continued)

L: Less seniority.

P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:20 (404:424) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

T: Okay. Now when you say you did not have medical insurance, did anyone who was working at Wildwood have medical insurance?
C: Yes. He had it for his staff and all of his supervisors.
T: Yes.
C: They had medical insurance.
T: But you didn't have it and other workers didn't have it?
C: But we didn't have it.
T: Okay.
C: The dietary department, maintenance, and nurses' aides didn't have it.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:19 (381:410) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T. Any workplace disadvantages and conflicts, you made, just those that are most noticeable to you.
M. It's most noticeable to me
T. Just a little louder, please.
M. It's noticeable more to me, it's like they can ask you a question, like the nurses will ask you a question, you give them the answer to what, and then all of a sudden they go and ask another nurse. Well, then why did you come to me from the get go? Because in the long run, I'm the one that's right anyway and there's just so much responsibility placed on the secretary. And I don't think for what we do, we're not being paid for and that's really a disadvantage to me because I'm doing a lot. Not only am I doing the secretary's work, I'm doing the nurse's work because you're going through those charts and I have found mistakes that they make. They will put the wrong doctor's name on there, the wrong test, and I will go 'are you sure this is what?' 'oh, no, that's the wrong patient!' but if I had entered it, what would have happened? It would have fell back on my head or even they'll say 'oh, I put this on the wrong patient, could you take it out? Could you take it out?' That's double work for me on something that they should have done right from the get go.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:20 (412:443) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T. Right. Right. Okay. Bernita? The question, let me rephrase the question. Would you please describe any workplace disadvantages and conflicts that you have experienced?
B. Excuse me. I think one of the biggest disadvantages of working at Methodist Hospital is the way they divide union and non union. They keep us divided by, you know, the nurses are so much better, they make people think that they are better than us and they reward people in different ways. They gave us, as a matter of fact, for secretaries week, a little

Appendix A (continued)

bitty, little radio that you clip on and it's plastic, of course, it had Methodist Hospital plastered on it to show their name, so in other words, we're advertising for them.

T. Right.

B. But we found those little radios in the store, 2 for $5 and then later on we found them for 2 for $3. But we talked about it, we talked about it, they only paid because they bought them in bulk, probably a quarter a piece for them and that didn't make us feel good. Yet they gave the nurses umbrellas and coupons to a spa and they give them all these nice things. So you know, that's a disadvantage because everybody should count. No matter, everybody has something that their doing that makes the hospital work. And we are the ones that make the hospital work.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:21 (446:458) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

M. I have one other thing about the disadvantages. I work the weekend shifts like they do. They work a weekend, they get paid $5 extra for working the weekend. What do I get paid? The same $13.02 an hour. But they get an extra $5. If they work over their budgeted hours which we do too, we pick up when they don't have nobody, they get paid an extra $5. Do we get paid ah, oh, no. They don't pay us because we are union. That's not fair. I mean, I'm a body just like you are a body, you need my assistance just like they need you. So why am I not being paid?

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:22 (460:484) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T. Right, right. Bernita, would you like to say something else?

B. Yeah, that is true. We talk about incentives and inspiring people to do more and to do better. Right now they have our people stretched out doing far more than they've ever done before but they have never talked about compensating them in any way and that's what it's about. You know, if they want to make the nurses receive more money for working extra time, when we work over we should be paid as well. Our housekeepers right now are not only cleaning sometimes 31 rooms a day for one housekeeper, they also have to spot mop the hallway. The nurse's station sometimes does not get cleaned because they have all the patient's rooms to do, which the patients should come first. So, you know, there we are in a nasty hospital. But they're not compensating these people that they're working them to death and these people are getting sick. And when they call off then they are even shorter, so they want them to do a little bit more. So it's ah, it's kind of unfair to all of us.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:12 (152:166) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

Q. Very good, thank you. What workplace disadvantages do you believe you have experienced, Priscella because of your race?

A. Well, coming into Methodist, I was a very young lady and I was looked upon as being, I guess you can say, a cocky person or someone who didn't understand the experience of the workplace. So that was a disadvantage for me and also being a Black female was also

Appendix A (continued)

a disadvantage. And then just to have come in on that level as a nurse's aide (they wanted to deem that job as a low self esteem job). It did not seem like a "low-self-esteem job for me. So still, things have changed but not that much.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:18 (315:444) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

A. Well, working in the pharmacy department with a key card. We have life threatening meds, we have meds that will save a life, we have meds that can just do a lot of things. We don't have access to get in and out of departments to go and deliver these medications. But yet and still people from surgery and people from the emergency room have access to the whole hospital. I never understood that, and I think that's a disadvantage for a pharmacy worker, not necessarily being a female or a male, just the pharmacy work itself. This disadvantage is for our growth as far as pharmacy technicians. with previous management in as now, as of now, present management for utilizing the education that we have. Since we graduated in 1988 from the technician school, I have felt that this has been a disadvantage in regards to us doing more in the department.

Q. Now, just to clarify, you don't have the ability to use a key card to get in various parts of the hospital?

A. No, I do not. Just to get in as an employee, to get access to get in. But to go to the other units and things like that, it's limited. I'll put it like that, there's a limited access.

Q. Okay, so if you need to get to another department and you don't have access, how do you usually handle that?

A. We buzz to get in and if there's nobody at the desk, we wait. And if we don't wait, we go back to the department, call the unit, and let them know that we were there. This means that, since they weren't responding to us, now they have to come and get whatever it is that they needed. Unless they're real sure, which has been done, oh we'll be right here at the desk, so would you please bring it back. Well, that's taking away from my job, my time, to do something that they should have been ready for, or, we should have had access to just go ahead and do what we needed to do with the medication so that the patient could receive it in a timely manner. But, in most cases that doesn't happen.

Q. Well, when this doesn't happen, isn't it possible that problems can be created for the patients?

A. Oh definitely, definitely. We have bleeders; we have people who are on dialysis; we have people that just may need insulin quickly. Fifty per cent get strokes because they go into insulin shock and the insulin should be given within 15 minutes or sooner for relief of those symptoms; but sometimes we're just not there. And the units are not supposed to have a lot of this stuff on the floor (we replace monthly but they don't charge out for it properly so it's never replaced until we do our floor stock).

Q. And does this general problem sometimes cause more difficulties for you as a worker?

A. Oh, yes. Because they're like, why didn't you get it up here, or you could have brought it up here at this time, or it will go upstairs and it's never given. Now why that is, I don't know. The hospital has gotten out of writing nurses up, okay? Nurses, nursing is at a shortage. I feel if you've done something wrong in the medical profession, you should not be punished; but you should be told about it, and in that instance, they write you up. It's nothing to say that you could loose your job unless it was something detrimental; but they write you up. Right now they don't have that practice. We don't have that practice

Appendix A (continued)

to write a nurse up. When we deliver meds to the unit every day; we bring back many, many meds and that's something that I haven't understood in a while, either. Took it to my boss, had documentation, labels, everything that I needed to let him know that some of the nurses aren't giving this medication to the patients. We're bringing them back and still replacing meds. So, to this day (and I did this in March of this year), I've heard nothing about what they've done or tried to do to rectify the situation. If you were to come into the hospital, Mr. Iverson, and you were on gall bladder medication and diabetic medication; if you didn't receive this that day, why are you in the hospital?

Q. Right.

A. Because you're supposed to be there to get the medication; and when the doctor writes the order, it is the responsibility of the nurse to make sure that the order is carried out with the proper things that he or she needs—whether it's medication, or materials, or whatever. And when it's supplied to you and it's not given and there's no explanation for it not being given, I think that's something that should be looked at and they're not looking at that real hard. I mean, we, what is it my boss said, we send out, we might send out $40,000 of medication in that hospital and we'll get refunded $33,000. So what happened? I think that's very strange. If we can deliver (this is hypothetical, but still it's in that range) $40,000 worth of meds; and when we come back the next day, we get a refund on our medications of $33,000, something is not right and the patients are not receiving the proper medication that they need to help them get well.

Q. This is very disturbing, because I can imagine if my Mom was still living and she were in Gary and we brought her to your hospital, she might not get her medicine as she is supposed to…

A. As prescribed by the physician!

Q. …and then from what you're saying, the problem might be placed at the door of the worker when in fact it should have been laid at the door of the nurse?

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:30 (609:635) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts] [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS]

T: Okay. Did you have a grievance procedure before the union came?

S: No, it was merit. You know, if you did what you were asked to do—and the head nurse liked you—then you got a dollar or maybe fifty cents, or whatever she wanted to give you.

T: Alright. Let me just probe this a little bit with you. If we had been working together before the union and I was a head nurse; are you saying that your ability to a get a raise depended upon whether or not I personally liked you?

S: Yes, that was it. If you didn't like me then you wouldn't give me a raise; I would still be making the same thing.

T: Right. Now in a situation like that, did you ever see that there were people (including you) who really deserved a raise, but didn't get one because of their relationship with a particular head nurse?

S: Yes.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:18 (480:505) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

Appendix A (continued)

TB: Talking. I didn't always like how the nurses would talk to you.
T: Yes.
TB: I had one problem at St. Margaret's, 'cause I had a nurse, when I told her to do something, she didn't want to do it right then.
T: Right.
TB: And then my light came back on and I said now I am getting tired of this nurse not getting up. This white nurse.
T: Yes.
TB: And I said now she is not doing her job, and I am doing my job. [So I went back and said to the resident, "Keep putting the light on, and I am going to stand here to see how long it is going to take her to give you your medication."] The nurse finally went to see about the resident, but not when she should have.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:26 (676:685) (Super) Codes: [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

A. Yes, when I first got hired at Wildwood, my supervisor [I think she was my supervisor], Miss King, told me I couldn't have a home, a place, an apartment to live in, or a car as long as I worked there. And I think that was my disadvantage, you know? Nobody should tell an employee that they can't prosper anywhere. That's the disadvantage that I think I had right there.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:27 (692:707) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

A. Well, I loved my supervisor, Miss Wolf, at St. Margaret's; but I had a problem with my supervisor at Wildwood. I had a white one at St. Margaret's, a black one at Wildwood. And we didn't, you know, we didn't hit it off when she told me I couldn't prosper. So we didn't get along at all. I worked doubles just to prove to this woman that I could buy me a car; and I bought me a brand new car and drove it up to her just to show her. You know, you got to show somebody that you can get somewhere. I know some people who have been working there a long time and couldn't get a car. They had to bum for rides.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:29 (742:771) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [I3. Description of union activities] I3b.union-initiated]

A. I didn't like it when we went on strike. Before we went on strike, we had a meeting with Mr. Crump. I thought that was a little bit out of place, because he asked us what we wanted and he was trying to tell us what we couldn't do and couldn't have. I didn't like that, being out of money. And I didn't like how he approached us that way, "Would we damage anything of his property?" Nobody even thought of that! I don't know what was running through his head, but you know, we're not like that. I didn't like to be in front of somebody and somebody's questioning you in the room. I didn't like the disadvantage of when I did get hurt on the picket line. My administrator [I can't think of her name right now], but when I got hurt she said, "I wanted to come and see you, but it was a conflict between you and my job." And I said, "Why would it be a conflict if you know

Appendix A (continued)

somebody? If you cared enough, you should have been there. But only one person came there to see me, and that was the woman who fought for me to get this job, Diane Wesley. She was there at my bedside all the time. Even though she was over us, she had nerve enough to come.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:55 (1535:1570) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [X. Striking quote]

Q. Theresa, what was it that actually made people want to fight Crump so hard?

A. He was not helping the poor person. You know, he is a black entrepreneur, but sometimes entrepreneurs don't treat people fair; they make the money off the backbones of people who don't have nothing. And that's how I looked at Crump. You know, he was successful, he was on Bank One, he was on this and that. And when you've got that kind of money—I know you're supposed to put money back into your business and a lot of black companies don't put money back into their businesses, to keep their business going right—you should help the people. But he didn't help the people who made it for him. And that's where he was wrong. He didn't give back to the people who made him get that far.

Q. Right, right.

A. He wouldn't have had that money in his pocket if we weren't working in that nursing home. And that's how I look at Mr. Crump. He didn't care for his employees who got him to where he got it. That's the only thing I think about it. I know you can't give all because you want to make it too, you know; mostly your name is on that stuff. But he could have done a little bit better for the rest of us, the people, the workers. That's all I can say.

7 quotation(s) for code: D4. [CONVERGENCE DISCRIMINATION]
P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:23 (477:511) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

J: And we were single parents, didn't make much money, so they assumed that we were not gonna go out. The Crumps said that we were uneducated and simply following behind Alice Bush—who was a White union rep. They said this to put us down and weaken us, but it didn't work.

T: Okay. Now, Jean, let me just probe a little bit with you on this question, because earlier in our conversation you had said that you did not think that you had experienced any disadvantages because you were a women. You also said that you didn't think that you had experienced any disadvantages at the workplace because of your race. Now, here might be a good place to think about what you just said because if Thomas and Maureen Crump...

J: Mmmm, mmmmmm...

T: ...were not paying you what they should have been paying you, and if they were not respecting you because they thought you were just poor, black women (many of whom were single heads of households), aren't those problems that are to some extent related to the fact that you were Black and women?

J: Yeah, you are right. But you know, you didn't think of it (laughs) that way, but now that you put it like that, you do. Yeah, you are right.

Appendix A (continued)

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:15 (161:182) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

Q. Right. Pat, please describe any other workplace disadvantages and conflicts that you experienced as a black woman worker. That you can think of, that is.
A. Hmm. Well, in radiology, we really didn't have the problems the office girls had. Now being a transcriptionist, they kind of left us alone. But I could see the other black girls that were in the office, how they treated them, how they were forced to work different shifts and they had to stay over if some one called off. They were made to work another entire 8 hours shift, and I didn't think that was right.
Q. Right.
A. And then they would wonder why would these girls fall asleep? Well, they have already completed one 8 hour shift and then they had to continue on to do another 8 hour shift. They were tired and you know they didn't get off until like midnight, you know, and they'd work maybe 7 am to midnight.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:22 (389:427) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

T: Alright. Vanessa, do you believe you have ever experienced any workplace disadvantages because you are a woman?
L: Yes.
T: Please elaborate.
L: I feel that they decided to break down the kitchen and take away the full-time positions, because it is all females that they broke down from full time—with a lot of seniority—to part-time. The males, they haven't done anything to their hours. They haven't cut their pay or anything.
T: Yes.
L: But the females they cut, and the males they didn't.
T: Okay, and this situation is still going on?
L: Still going on.
T: Alright.
L: And none of them are black. All of the females that got cut were Black.
T: Okay, and all the males who are still working are what race or nationality?
L: One is a Puerto Rican and one is Mexican and they both have less seniority.
T: Less seniority?
L: Less seniority.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:25 (481:510) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

T: Yes, yes. Are there any other workplace disadvantages and conflicts that you feel you have experienced as a black woman worker in the health care industry?
L: There is a lot. I feel working within Methodist Hospital?
T: Yes.
L: I just feel that certain things that happen there just because you are a female.
T: Go ahead.

Appendix A (continued)

L: You don't have the advantages that the rest of the people have out there, because if you are a black female you have a harder chance for advancement.
T: Yes.
L: But if you are a white female, you could advance yourself and you will stay there for a minute.
T: Yes.
L: But for Black females, it is more like they want to keep you down.

P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:20 (404:424) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

T: Okay. Now when you say you did not have medical insurance, did anyone who was working at Wildwood have medical insurance?
C: Yes. He had it for his staff and all of his supervisors.
T: Yes.
C: They had medical insurance.
T: But you didn't have it and other workers didn't have it?
C: But we didn't have it.
T: Okay.
C: The dietary department, maintenance, and nurses' aides didn't have it.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:12 (152:166) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

Q. Very good, thank you. What workplace disadvantages do you believe you have experienced, Priscella because of your race?
A. Well, coming into Methodist, I was a very young lady and I was looked upon as being, I guess you can say, a cocky person or someone who didn't understand the experience of the workplace. So that was a disadvantage for me and also being a Black female was also a disadvantage. And then just to have come in on that level as a nurse's aide (they wanted to deem that job as a low self esteem job). It did not seem like a "low-self-esteem job for me. So still, things have changed but not that much.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:26 (676:685) (Super) Codes: [D2. Gender Discrimination] [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D4. Convergence discrimination]

A. Yes, when I first got hired at Wildwood, my supervisor [I think she was my supervisor], Miss King, told me I couldn't have a home, a place, an apartment to live in, or a car as long as I worked there. And I think that was my disadvantage, you know? Nobody should tell an employee that they can't prosper anywhere. That's the disadvantage that I think I had right there.

46 quotation(s) for code: D5. GENERAL WORKPLACE CONFLICTS
P 1: 2_JohnnieAndrews.txt - 1:58 (1051:1060) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts]

Appendix A (continued)

JA: You know I probably would have been there a while longer, but I did not like my supervisor, because she was young. She came there after I did. Years after I did and then she was that person, that was her daughter supervising and I knew that wasn't right, because they always said two relatives couldn't work in the same department and she was supervisor to her daughter and letting her get away with murder, but I didn't know it and then when they came to me and told me about these things, I began to look at them and you could see what was going on.

P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:14 (256:280) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

J: Well, the only thing I remember (after we came back after the strike) was that there were scabs (you know, the people that came in and worked when we went on strike). One of the jobs for a cook opened up.
T: Right.
J: And management told me since I went out on strike another woman qualified. She had more time than I had to get the job, because she worked the job while we were out on the strike. She got the job you know, but that is what it said in the contract.
T: Right.
J: It was work performed.
T: Right.
J: Okay, so she did perform the job. I didn't perform the job so they gave it to her and so that was one disagreement I had there.

P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:13 (134:155) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

Q. I see, alright. Thank you for clarifying that. Would you please describe how you have been treated by other supervisors in the healthcare industry.
A. Well, I was treated pretty good by most.
Q. Could you say a little bit more about those who did not treat you well?
A. Well, I ah…..like in the cafeteria. That supervisor didn't treat me too well, but we got along pretty good, we understood each other. At least we respected each other. So there wasn't too much of that.
Q. Let me, if I can, let me just probe a little bit with you. What kinds of things happened in this particular, in the cafeteria? A. In the cafeteria, they had this particular supervisor who was over the cafeteria, and if you didn't have nothing to tell her concerning something about another co-worker, you didn't get a raise. And I never had anything to say to about co-workers because I had too much business of my own to take care of. That's why I never had nothing, so I never did get a raise. I didn't get a raise in 5 years, I had worked there 5 years for the same price, I mean for the same wages that I was hired in with.

P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:14 (157:162) (Super) Codes: [A2. Pay] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

Q. You worked for 5 years and you didn't anything above…

Appendix A (continued)

A. I didn't get anything above $1.36. I know what my paycheck was going to be every 2 weeks because I didn't have nothing to say. Most, some of them got raises, but they were not to tell the other ones that didn't get one. So that's what I'm talking about.

P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:15 (168:184) (Super) Codes: [B1. Supervisor Race and Gender] [B1d. WM] [D5. General workplace conflicts] [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS]

Q. Alright. Thank you. Could you describe any other workplace conflicts that you experienced as a black woman worker?
A. Yes, when I got promoted from the dish room to the set-up area (that was from dish room over to the kitchen part), I had a man supervisor at first and he was always saying that I wasn't doing my work correctly. And that he was going to send me back to the dish room because I looked like I was slow to learn, to catch on with the work. But after we had a conversation (me and this man supervisor—he was an Italian), I told him what I wanted him to know. He left me alone. And we got along, we never did like each other, but he had no other choice but to respect me 'cause I respected him. And so we got along fine until I retired.
Q. Would you care to tell a little bit about what you wanted him to know?
A. I wanted him to know that he wasn't going to send me no where. He couldn't send me no where.

P 4: 12_EdnaBarden.txt - 4:11 (196:220) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

A. Okay. Well, the conflicts and different things that I experienced, you know when you have a group of people that is working and they are practically on the same level and when it came time to give out raises, they picked and chose on who should get and how much they should get and you know that caused conflict. And they would tell you, "Don't let anybody else see your check," you know, and might cause confusion at the time. And people will be mad at you, you know, because you might have made a few pennies more than they did.
Q. Yes.
A. You know, because they knew, you know you're performing in what you were doing.
Q. Right.
A. And I didn't like that they were picking and choosing and paying people, because you still had those people there working...
Q. Right...
A. ...and you put up with them, so why punish them?

P 4: 12_EdnaBarden.txt - 4:14 (241:255) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts]

Q. Okay. Would you please describe the way you were treated by those who supervised you in your job at Wildwood?
A. Well, at first, it was always, my supervisor that I had, (that I told you was a nurse). We would always get into it. You know, if I would say that I was sick, she would tell me, "You're not sick." And you know, with me, I would always say, "You're not me, so you wouldn't know how I feel. And you are not my doctor."

Appendix A (continued)

Q. Right.
A. And me and her would get into it quite often if I would take off or something.

P 4: 12_EdnaBarden.txt - 4:16 (264:280) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts]

Q. Right. And again, this was an Afro-American supervisor?
A. Afro-American.
Q. Alright. Were there any other supervisors that you care to comment on?
A. No, there wasn't any other supervisors that I care to comment on; but you know when you had friends, and they would hear someone say things about you, they would constantly trying to warn you, "Watch her."
Q. Yeah, right.
A. And this was a supervisor, you know. In order to get herself up with the bosses she would put you down to the boss.

P 4: 12_EdnaBarden.txt - 4:24 (440:457) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts]

A If certain employees were doing something that they weren't supposed to do, I—since I had been promoted to the position of cook—would have to speak with them about it. And sometimes, they would try to provoke me, like when we thought we might have to strike. Then the supervisor would come up and try to meddle in our conversation. The supervisor was standing there with us, and this employee scratched my face, and when she done that, I just went crazy.
Q. Right, so this was another employee?
A. Another employee in the union.
Q. One of your co-workers?
A. One of the co-workers, but this was before the union really got strong.

P 4: 12_EdnaBarden.txt - 4:25 (470:481) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts]

A. No, most of the time, people did pretty well what they were supposed to. Some incidents, you know, sometimes when you could be working and other workers come in, you would have incidents where they would want to stand up a lot of times and not start working, you know, acting only to peeve you off or try to get you upset. You know, you had been there, and they are supposed to be relieving you and with a supervisor not being there, right up there at the time, you know, and you are in charge, you know, at the time the supervisor is in the back and most of the time, the cooks are in charge and people would try to provoke you into things, in order to, you know, upset you.

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:13 (136:149) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts]

Q. Alright. Please describe the way that you have been treated by those who supervised you in your job in the health care industry?
A. Well, I had one supervisor that, I don't know, she might not have liked me very well and she would go around and she would say little things to other employees, you know, concerning me. It was nothing but a bunch of lies because they could never catch me

Appendix A (continued)

doing anything. Once she took something back to management, saying "Pat always takes Christmas as her holiday." But I felt like I got there before she got there, and I had the time in and my contract didn't stipulate any other way; so I always took Christmas as my vacation.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:18 (276:304) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T: Thank you, thank you. Did you ever have any negative or unhappy experiences when you tried to ask a doctor what the writing said?
W: Yes.
T: Did you ever have any of them act negatively with you? W: You know, I hate to say this, but at Southlake it was a better thing (I guess this is the way I see it) if the nurses approached a doctor than me going to him and asking. Okay, for me to walk up to a doctor and ask him, you know, it was like them saying, "Why are you questioning me?" But I didn't do. I would just tell the nurse, "I cannot read this; you are going to have to ask the doctor or call the doctor to get a clarification."
T: Alright.
W: And we worked from that point. And the nurses would always tell me that if I couldn't get the clarification, or whatever, they would—they didn't have a problem with asking doctors or calling them.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:19 (306:327) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T: I see. If I may let me probe this just a little bit. Because this sounds like a situation in which you had to make a decision about how you were going to handle this. If you were to have asked a doctor directly for a clarification, are you saying that you don't think that would have worked very well? W It didn't. It would have caused a doctor to feel like, "Why are you asking me?" So yeah, that was it; that would be the attitude that they would take. Why was I confronting them with it?
T: I think I understand.
W: Unless I knew a specific doctor, you know, and, he/she knew me and they knew that I did the transcribing; I might you ask in that case. But there was only few doctors that I really felt comfortable asking.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:23 (453:502) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

W: I don't know if this was because I am black or no; but I know a lot of times I've worked there with this air blowing down on me and we had called Plant Op or Maintenance Department to come up and try to switch the fan around.
T: Yes.
W: And it looked at one time like it was switched around, and I went on vacation. And I guess about two or three weeks after that when I got back it was blowing back again.
T: Right.
W: And from that point on it was like they never could turn it again, you know? It was like, the fan couldn't be turned. I had to start wearing turtlenecks sweaters to keep the air off of my shoulders!

Appendix A (continued)

T: So you never could get that situation fixed?
W: No.
T: While you were not on the floor, there was apparently someone who took your place?
W: You mean like when I'm off?
T: Yes.
W Yeah, sure.
T: So, in other words, it seems that the fan or the air conditioning unit was turned in a certain way or a certain direction to suit that person?
W: Well, maybe not to suit them because the other black girls were complaining about the air too. So it was coming down.
T: I see. And you never could get it fixed?
W: No, not after that first time. (laughs)

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:24 (504:527) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T: Any other conflicts that you can remember?
W: Mmmmm, you know at one time my husband came to pick me up out there. It was a snow storm that evening and the snow had piled so till he couldn't come in the right way, so he came around the opposite way and the car got stuck in the snow and could not get it out. One of the supervisors came and told him, "You are going to have to move that car out of the way!" My husband told her the car was stuck and he couldn't get it out and she told him he was going to have to get it some sort of way, because he was in the fire lane. My husband told her, "Well if you all have a fire then they can move it."
T: Right.
W: So he had to wind up having it towed really, but it was just like we don't care how you get it out, just get it out (laughs).

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:2 (44:52) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts]

L: I started working at Methodist in 1976. I got ill and they terminated me, and I returned back in 1980. I caught pneumonia from a patient, and they told me if I called off they were going to fire me. I called off and went to the doctor and was admitted to the hospital, and they terminated me. I started back at Methodist Hospital in 1985, and I have been there nineteen years now.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:4 (73:90) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training] [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T: Okay, now let me just probe with you a little bit on this question of job description, Vanessa. You say you had a written job description in 1976. Did you ever find that you were being required to perform duties that were outside of your job description?
L: Yes, I did. We had to do a lot of things as a nurse's aide then, but it increased more in 1980. They wanted us to start doing work that the LPN's did. They wanted us to start like shaving groins and prepping patient's for surgery and it wasn't the position of a nurse's assistant to do it.
T: Yes.
L: And I complained about it and I think that that was one of the reasons I was terminated.

Appendix A (continued)

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:34 (685:691) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts]

L: And one time I took a little five minutes extra and they did write me up.
T: Right.
L: I knew it was because I was helping to form the union.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:36 (720:806) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T: Okay. I am glad that you raised that, because that brings us right to the next question. Once you became aware that there was a union to be built up in your workplace, what kinds of activities did you and your co-workers plan and carry out in order to handle workplace problems?
L: Well, I wasn't there then.
T: Okay.
L: They fired me.
T: I remember that you said that.
L: Right after the union got in management terminated me and they sent my sister to Southlake and they fired her. They fired us both.
T: I know this is a little painful, but would you mind elaborating a little bit about how that happened?
L: Well, I learned that I had gallstones, and I went into the hospital to have surgery. That's when management brought me my pink slip in the hospital
T: While you were in the hospital?
L: While I was in the hospital I was terminated. While contract negotiations were going on.
T: So here you were in the hospital, sick, being taken care of. Was this at Methodist?
L: Yes, on the fifth floor.
T: And you were on the fifth floor of Methodist, in the building that you worked in?
L: Right.
T: And while you were in the hospital,
L: They terminated me.
T: Someone brought you a pink slip?
L: My supervisor did.
T: Do you remember what this person name was?
L: Yes, her name was Elnora Donaldson.
T: I know this may seem like a strange question.
L: She had told me if I had the surgery, I would be terminated. But my doctor had told me if I didn't have the surgery I would die, because the gallstones had broke up like gravel.
T: Yes.
L: And that was poisoning my system.
T: Yes.
L: So Dr. McDonald told me to have the surgery and I had it.
T: Yes.
L: Because I had started getting where I was passing out.
T: Yes.

Appendix A (continued)

L: And Elnora told me if I passed out on the job, I would be fired; and if I had the surgery I would be fired. So when I went in and had the surgery, she came to my room on the fifth floor and gave me a pink slip and it stated that I was terminated.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:37 (813:830) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T: Louella, how did you handle this when you were in the bed? This was happening, you were concerned about getting back on your feet to help take care of your family, how did you deal with this?
L: Well, when she told me, you know, I was just coming out of surgery and I was feeling a little groggy. She came back to see me and she told me that if I wanted to come back to Methodist, I could. But once I came back to Methodist they had phased out the nurses' aides and made them transporters or messengers or something like that.
T: Yes.
L: So when I came back they said there wasn't a job for me.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:40 (867:892) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts] [I3. Description of union activities]

T: Okay. Now, this raises a question and I just want to go back if I may and probe a little bit. You helped to establish the union. It was very evident to your co-workers and to management that you were standing up with and for the union. Shortly after the union election victory, you were fired. Was there nothing that the union could do?
L: Well, there wasn't a binding contract at that time.
T: Okay, there was no contract yet?
L: No contract at that time. Negotiations were still going on.
T: So, in other words, you were fired even though the election had been won.
L: Right.
T: You were actually terminated before the contract had the ink on it?
L: Right.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:48 (1055:1105) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T: Okay. Once you got back and were active in the union, did you think in that period that union leadership was pretty effective?
L: Yes.
T: Okay, and I am not trying to put words in your mouth, but I trying to just draw out...
L: The reason I thought it was effective then is because when management terminated me, they said if I called off sick,
T: Yes.
L: they would terminate me,
T: Yes.
L: And I called the union, and the union got on the phone and told me I had three weeks to be off, because the contract covered only three weeks.
T: Okay.

Appendix A (continued)

L: But I was actually in the hospital for a month.
T: Okay.
L: And they still terminated me. One week too much.
T: And you were not able to grieve that?
L: No.
T: Because there was no binding contract at that time?
L: It was a binding contract in 1980, and then they terminated me a second time, but I could not file a grievance because I hadn't been back passed a year.
T: Okay. So in other words you hadn't actually been under the contract long enough for it to be enforced?
L: To be effective enough for me to fight.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:71 (1898:1924) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts] [K. Final comments] [X. Striking quote]

T: Yes, I hear you. Is there anything else that you would like to say about your workplace and union experiences?
L: I know that the reason I was demoted after nineteen years (down to a part-time employee) was because of my union activities. If it wasn't for my union activities I know that management would have never tampered with my position. I would have been still been working in that position— and my co-workers are still in that position— because management only cut my co-workers because they cut me, to justify their action by saying that there were three employees that were cut, not just me.
T: Yes.
L: So they just cut me and these two other people with a lot of seniority, and the rest of them are still full-timers out there at Methodist Hospital.
T: Yes.
L: And the only reason I think that they did it is because of my union activities.

P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:12 (168:212) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T: Alright. Could you please describe any of the kinds of conflicts or disadvantages that you experienced working in the dietary department?
C: The only conflict that I had was with one of the employees.
T: Yes.
C: She was an elderly lady, and we used to feed one of the members of the family who had a wife there.
T: Yes.
C: And I was told by the supervisor, that when he came down, to make sure that he got a breakfast…
T: Yes…
C: …so that he could eat with his wife.
T: Right.
C: And this particular morning, this lady she didn't want to fix it.
T: Yes.
C: So I went around and started fixing it.
T: Yes.

Appendix A (continued)

C: And that is when, you know, the problem came up.
T: Okay.
C: And so then the supervisor had to come down. After the supervisor checked into the situation, she suspended the other workers for three days. Nothing else was said to me about the matter.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:19 (381:410) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T. Any workplace disadvantages and conflicts, you made, just those that are most noticeable to you.
M. It's most noticeable to me
T. Just a little louder, please.
M. It's noticeable more to me, it's like they can ask you a question, like the nurses will ask you a question, you give them the answer to what, and then all of a sudden they go and ask another nurse. Well, then why did you come to me from the get go? Because in the long run, I'm the one that's right anyway and there's just so much responsibility placed on the secretary. And I don't think for what we do, we're not being paid for and that's really a disadvantage to me because I'm doing a lot. Not only am I doing the secretary's work, I'm doing the nurse's work because you're going through those charts and I have found mistakes that they make. They will put the wrong doctor's name on there, the wrong test, and I will go 'are you sure this is what?' 'oh, no, that's the wrong patient!' but if I had entered it, what would have happened? It would have fell back on my head or even they'll say 'oh, I put this on the wrong patient, could you take it out? Could you take it out?' That's double work for me on something that they should have done right from the get go.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:20 (412:443) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T. Right. Right. Okay. Bernita? The question, let me rephrase the question. Would you please describe any workplace disadvantages and conflicts that you have experienced?
B. Excuse me. I think one of the biggest disadvantages of working at Methodist Hospital is the way they divide union and non union. They keep us divided by, you know, the nurses are so much better, they make people think that they are better than us and they reward people in different ways. They gave us, as a matter of fact, for secretaries week, a little bitty, little radio that you clip on and it's plastic, of course, it had Methodist Hospital plastered on it to show their name, so in other words, we're advertising for them.
T. Right.
B. But we found those little radios in the store, 2 for $5 and then later on we found them for 2 for $3. But we talked about it, we talked about it, they only paid because they bought them in bulk, probably a quarter a piece for them and that didn't make us feel good. Yet they gave the nurses umbrellas and coupons to a spa and they give them all these nice things. So you know, that's a disadvantage because everybody should count. No matter, everybody has something that their doing that makes the hospital work. And we are the ones that make the hospital work.

Appendix A (continued)

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:21 (446:458) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

M. I have one other thing about the disadvantages. I work the weekend shifts like they do. They work a weekend, they get paid $5 extra for working the weekend. What do I get paid? The same $13.02 an hour. But they get an extra $5. If they work over their budgeted hours which we do too, we pick up when they don't have nobody, they get paid an extra $5. Do we get paid ah, oh, no. They don't pay us because we are union. That's not fair. I mean, I'm a body just like you are a body, you need my assistance just like they need you. So why am I not being paid?

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:22 (460:484) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T. Right, right. Bernita, would you like to say something else?

B. Yeah, that is true. We talk about incentives and inspiring people to do more and to do better. Right now they have our people stretched out doing far more than they've ever done before but they have never talked about compensating them in any way and that's what it's about. You know, if they want to make the nurses receive more money for working extra time, when we work over we should be paid as well. Our housekeepers right now are not only cleaning sometimes 31 rooms a day for one housekeeper, they also have to spot mop the hallway. The nurse's station sometimes does not get cleaned because they have all the patient's rooms to do, which the patients should come first. So, you know, there we are in a nasty hospital. But they're not compensating these people that they're working them to death and these people are getting sick. And when they call off then they are even shorter, so they want them to do a little bit more. So it's ah, it's kind of unfair to all of us.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:23 (486:503) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T. Right. Are there any other conflicts, Bernita, that you can think of that you would like to speak about now?

B. There are issues with the unit secretaries, we don't have enough unit secretaries. They are taking us and expecting us to float, as they call them 'modular'. If some one calls off, that's like 3 units and you're grouped with 3 units and if some one calls off in that modular, they want you to help them out for 2 hours. That's difficult in my modular because we have two, very, very busy units and it's kind of tough to go down and help another unit, come back, you've got all these charts, you go back down to help them, they got a rack full of charts. So you know, they're stressing out everybody. We're all stressed out tired, and burned out.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:27 (593:639) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts] [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS]

B. When I was a CNA and we did not have a union at that time, my director's name was Rosemary Goff. T. How do you spell that last name please?

B. G-O-U-G-H. T. Okay, thank you.

Appendix A (continued)

B. Rosemary Gough had a nursing assistant there at the time, her name was Pamela Land, Pamela Land was white.
T. Yes.
B. And Pam used to do thing for Gough that of course, I wasn't going to do.
T. Right.
B. She cleaned her house on Saturdays and things such as that. So they showed favoritism towards her and the times when the schedule would come up, it might be my weekend off and I'd go back to the schedule and say, some one would say 'oh, you working this weekend?' and I'd say, no, I'm off. They'd look at the schedule and say, 'Bernita, you're working'. While during that time, they would change the schedule and they didn't have to tell you anything, which, you know, could have resulted in my being terminated. But I had to go to Mrs. Gough and let her know that I do have a family and you can't just take my weekends, so I went in and told her that I wanted the next two weekends off and she gave me the next six because I told her that I'd never walked in anybody's shadow and wouldn't start today and if she and Pam wanted to do whatever, that was fine but not at my expense.
T. I see.
B. That was the only thing that I think that I've experienced as a disadvantage.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:28 (642:671) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts]

M. You know, I listened to you Bernita, but I have never experienced anything of that nature because I was never, it was like, I wasn't the one that she did it to. She did it to another person and I didn't think it was fair. It was like another secretary by the name of Marion Johnson, had more seniority than I did and when the position, because you didn't have to be in the position, you just tell the nurse that you wanted the position and it'd go by seniority. They gave me the position over her which I didn't think was fair because she should have been the one to have the unit instead of me. But then the head nurse at time, which was Paula (Kern?) liked me, she just gave me the position instead of her which wasn't a fair thing. Then I felt bad because it was a sister also, it was fellow co-worker who had put in her time, why should she have to take a back seat to me? And that really made me feel uncomfortable.
T. Right, right.
M. That was the only one.
T. But it wasn't anything that directly happened to you?
M. No.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:49 (1103:1117) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts] [H. Eval of CS]

T. Okay. Bernita, do you want to add anything?
B. The only thing I wanted to say too was that it was also said by our new CEO, his name is James Berg, B-E-R-G. He has also said that he, ah, anybody that negative or says anything negative about the hospital, should not be there. So that means that anytime we say something negative, we know we're almost on our way out the door. Okay?
T. All right. So this is sort of a threat?
B. Kind of sort of, yes.

Appendix A (continued)

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:17 (262:299) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts] [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS]

Q. Would you say Priscella that your experience with supervisors has been satisfactory?

A. On a scale of 1-5 I would give them a 2 ½. No. I don't think it's been that good. Just the other day, to bring in a point, for me, I have a tear in my rotor cuff. I have been in therapy for about four months for this and my supervisor was sent a notice from my doctor saying that my job plans had been lifted from light duty to another portion and he was assuming that I could do the same job that I was doing prior to my therapy. Well, we talked about it and he told me that I was full of shit, excuse my French. But that's exactly what he told me. And I thought, I don't think he said that to me. And he's the Moroccan, so he's just as close to me, being a Black person as he would be to a white person and he still told me this. I just felt that was totally, totally out of order. And he has not apologized and right now he is not talking to me too well, and I'm not talking to him at all. So, that's about the biggest thing. I had a boss before him, he just didn't understand how frustrated, why I was so frustrated but it was the same continuous non-absorbing thought that they were having. With my mouth, with my way of telling people how I feel in a very professional way, I want to say and just let them know the truth about how a situation is. You know, you tell them something and they don't listen. I talked about what's best for the department, and I guess they were talking about what's best for management. Well, something's got to out weigh one. And when you have disgruntled and unhappy employees, I think you should try to lean their way to find out what the problem is because the problem very well could have been management, which I feel safe that it is now.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:18 (315:444) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

A. Well, working in the pharmacy department with a key card. We have life threatening meds, we have meds that will save a life, we have meds that can just do a lot of things. We don't have access to get in and out of departments to go and deliver these medications. But yet and still people from surgery and people from the emergency room have access to the whole hospital. I never understood that, and I think that's a disadvantage for a pharmacy worker, not necessarily being a female or a male, just the pharmacy work itself. This disadvantage is for our growth as far as pharmacy technicians. with previous management in as now, as of now, present management for utilizing the education that we have. Since we graduated in 1988 from the technician school, I have felt that this has been a disadvantage in regards to us doing more in the department.

Q. Now, just to clarify, you don't have the ability to use a key card to get in various parts of the hospital?

A. No, I do not. Just to get in as an employee, to get access to get in. But to go to the other units and things like that, it's limited. I'll put it like that, there's a limited access.

Q. Okay, so if you need to get to another department and you don't have access, how do you usually handle that?

A. We buzz to get in and if there's nobody at the desk, we wait. And if we don't wait, we go back to the department, call the unit, and let them know that we were there. This means that, since they weren't responding to us, now they have to come and get whatever it is

Appendix A (continued)

that they needed. Unless they're real sure, which has been done, oh we'll be right here at the desk, so would you please bring it back. Well, that's taking away from my job, my time, to do something that they should have been ready for, or, we should have had access to just go ahead and do what we needed to do with the medication so that the patient could receive it in a timely manner. But, in most cases that doesn't happen.

Q. Well, when this doesn't happen, isn't it possible that problems can be created for the patients?

A. Oh definitely, definitely. We have bleeders; we have people who are on dialysis; we have people that just may need insulin quickly. Fifty per cent get strokes because they go into insulin shock and the insulin should be given within 15 minutes or sooner for relief of those symptoms; but sometimes we're just not there. And the units are not supposed to have a lot of this stuff on the floor (we replace monthly but they don't charge out for it properly so it's never replaced until we do our floor stock).

Q. And does this general problem sometimes cause more difficulties for you as a worker?

A. Oh, yes. Because they're like, why didn't you get it up here, or you could have brought it up here at this time, or it will go upstairs and it's never given. Now why that is, I don't know. The hospital has gotten out of writing nurses up, okay? Nurses, nursing is at a shortage. I feel if you've done something wrong in the medical profession, you should not be punished; but you should be told about it, and in that instance, they write you up. It's nothing to say that you could loose your job unless it was something detrimental; but they write you up. Right now they don't have that practice. We don't have that practice to write a nurse up. When we deliver meds to the unit every day; we bring back many, many meds and that's something that I haven't understood in a while, either. Took it to my boss, had documentation, labels, everything that I needed to let him know that some of the nurses aren't giving this medication to the patients. We're bringing them back and still replacing meds. So, to this day (and I did this in March of this year), I've heard nothing about what they've done or tried to do to rectify the situation. If you were to come into the hospital, Mr. Iverson, and you were on gall bladder medication and diabetic medication; if you didn't receive this that day, why are you in the hospital?

Q. Right.

A. Because you're supposed to be there to get the medication; and when the doctor writes the order, it is the responsibility of the nurse to make sure that the order is carried out with the proper things that he or she needs—whether it's medication, or materials, or whatever. And when it's supplied to you and it's not given and there's no explanation for it not being given, I think that's something that should be looked at and they're not looking at that real hard. I mean, we, what is it my boss said, we send out, we might send out $40,000 of medication in that hospital and we'll get refunded $33,000. So what happened? I think that's very strange. If we can deliver (this is hypothetical, but still it's in that range) $40,000 worth of meds; and when we come back the next day, we get a refund on our medications of $33,000, something is not right and the patients are not receiving the proper medication that they need to help them get well.

Q. This is very disturbing, because I can imagine if my Mom was still living and she were in Gary and we brought her to your hospital, she might not get her medicine as she is supposed to...

A. As prescribed by the physician!

Q. ...and then from what you're saying, the problem might be placed at the door of the worker when in fact it should have been laid at the door of the nurse?

Appendix A (continued)

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:45 (1368:1426) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts] [J3. Attitudes household and work]

Q. Right, right. Would you care to describe any feelings of frustration or disappointment about not being able to meet expectations and demands of both workplace and household?

A. Okay, at the workplace, if people on the job would, I guess, give a little bit more than just what they do, I think that would help out a lot. If I have a job that entails a lot of activity, and I see someone sitting and not doing anything, I would just think as a co-worker (to make the department go a little bit smoother) you'll come and take one of my duties, however big or however small. Not that I feel that they have to do this. But just say, "Priscella, let me handle this for you while you're doing this because I'm not doing anything." That doesn't happen. And these are grown people that I'm talking about and it's very, very sad. But this is how management has made the attitudes of the employees in my department; they have just turned because if you asserted yourself to do something extra, you were almost criticized because that wasn't the right time to do it. Management seem to like animosity in the department. They feel that people could work better if they're not speaking to each other. But when we had that laughter going on and we had our music going on, that's when they came in and wanted to bother us. And that has really turned a lot of people's attitudes. So you do your job and I'll do my job. You got 8 hours and I've got 8 hours. I can't help it if you don't get yours done but if I get mine done, that's it. Oh, I know life at home would be just as good for me because I could come home and I could see what I might have to do and I would have the energy to do it. Sometimes it's not like that because I come home and I'm beat and all I want to do is lay across my bed. I don't want to cook until like 7 or 8 o'clock, but for me, that's a selfish thought because it's just not about me. I've got a family here that I have to care for, and I learned that from my mom because that's how she was. My mother was exactly the same way. That's just how it worked out and the older I get, the more of life that I experience, I see, okay, all those old sayings that they were saying come to life. You realize later on in your life, you know, that these things that you took for granted, you can't do that anymore. You actually have to dive in and do it, you have to dive in and force yourself, because of the sanity of the whole picture, the whole thing. But if you bring that ignorant, lazy, lackadaisical attitude into it, that's exactly what you are going to get out of it. I don't want that in my life, I don't want that in my family life. I don't want to bring that to anybody so I try to, you know, stay focused on a lot of this stuff.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:10 (185:205) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T: Alright. Thank you. Could you describe any workplace conflicts or disadvantages that you experienced?

S: Well, I had several conflicts with my directors.

T: Okay, please go ahead and elaborate if you would.

S: Well, they would say hat I had too much mouth. Because I just (laughs) disagreed with a lot of things that they would ask me to do—or not really ask me, but tell me to do.

T: Right.

Appendix A (continued)

S Because they had a way of not asking you, they would tell you to do so-in-so. And I refused to do that. So it kept me in trouble.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:13 (222:250) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts] [D6. Denies discrimination] [I2. Negative views on union] [X. Striking quote]

T: Alright. Please describe the ways in which you have been treated by those who have supervised you in your jobs in the health care industry? S: Well, at first when I was a nursing assistant, I didn't really have many problems—but the workload was heavy.
T: Okay.
S: But, the times were good. I really enjoyed working, because it was a pleasant place to work at that time.
T: Yes, and now again that was in '76?
S: That was in '76 and '77.
T: Okay.
S: When I started at the end of '77, when I started a unit secretary job, it was pleasant.
T: Okay. S: But in '78, '79, when the union came in, that is when most of our problems really started.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:30 (609:635) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts] [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS]

T: Okay. Did you have a grievance procedure before the union came?
S: No, it was merit. You know, if you did what you were asked to do—and the head nurse liked you—then you got a dollar or maybe fifty cents, or whatever she wanted to give you.
T: Alright. Let me just probe this a little bit with you. If we had been working together before the union and I was a head nurse; are you saying that your ability to a get a raise depended upon whether or not I personally liked you?
S: Yes, that was it. If you didn't like me then you wouldn't give me a raise; I would still be asking the same thing.
T: Right. Now in a situation like that, did you ever see that there were people (including you) who really deserved a raise, but didn't get one because of their relationship with a particular head nurse?
S: Yes.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:16 (428:443) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts] [G. Collective strategies] [G1. Before Union] [H. Eval of CS]

TB: The difference between Wildwood and St. Margaret's is that St. Margaret's had certain things but Wildwood didn't. At Wildwood, they had the wrong kind of gloves and they didn't tell you when they had AIDs patients, and they should have. That is the only time that we had an AIDs patient, and I didn't like that. And they didn't know how to treat people. I mean that management did not treat their workers very well. At one time, we had a big meeting with management and OSHA. Even the doctor from OSHA agreed that the gloves we used were not appropriate. Management didn't like that, and nothing changed.

Appendix A (continued)

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:17 (443:468) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts] [E. Personal strategies]

A. I decided to get my own gloves after that]; out of my money, what I got paid with, so that I could have better gloves. And then I decided to buy perfume and everything for the residents, because you don't want them smelling. We did what we could to help, since some families cared and some didn't. For example, you had to worry about the diapers for patients. Cloth diapers aren't good enough, because you have to lift heavy people, put them back in the bed, and change them. That is a little rough when you don't have pampers. You can stand them up the best you can to get the pamper off; but if you got a wet diaper, you are going to have everything else wet. Wildwood management didn't have enough rubber sheets or anything. You had to deal with the "chucks." [Note: "Chucks" are large, flat, sheet-like coverings that are placed under a body wound or opening that is draining]. At Wildwood, we didn't have chucks—even though we should have—so you had to deal with not having what you needed. At St. Margaret's we had them.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:18 (480:505) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

TB: Talking. I didn't always like how the nurses would talk to you.
T: Yes.
TB: I had one problem at St. Margaret's, 'cause I had a nurse, when I told her to do something, she didn't want to do it right then.
T: Right.
TB: And then my light came back on and I said now I am getting tired of this nurse not getting up. This white nurse.
T: Yes.
TB: And I said now she is not doing her job, and I am doing my job. [So I went back and said to the resident, "Keep putting the light on, and I am going to stand here to see how long it is going to take her to give you your medication."] The nurse finally went to see about the resident, but not when she should have.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:19 (513:522) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts]

TB: Yes. One time, a nun came to me and asked me to go into a room where a resident and her male visitor were having sex. The nun wanted them to stop, but she didn't want to have to tell them. So she asked me to do this, since the woman's roommate was inconvenienced by them having sex. [I said, "Don't use me."] I don't know how the nun dealt with the situation, but this wasn't my floor and I didn't do it.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:24 (627:636) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts]

TB: At St. Margaret's, I had one problem with another black worker, who didn't like me. I don't know why she didn't like me, but I think she may have had a mental problem. One

Appendix A (continued)

time she actually wanted to fight me; she became boisterous in the hallway. Ms. Wolf took her into her office and later called me in. Ms. Wolf suspended her after she checked into everything. The worker was suspended for so many days.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:27 (692:707) (Super) Codes: [D3. Socioeconomic discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

A. Well, I loved my supervisor, Miss Wolf, at St. Margaret's; but I had a problem with my supervisor at Wildwood. I had a white one at St. Margaret's, a black one at Wildwood. And we didn't, you know, we didn't hit it off when she told me I couldn't prosper. So we didn't get along at all. I worked doubles just to prove to this woman that I could buy me a car; and I bought me a brand new car and drove it up to her just to show her. You know, you got to show somebody that you can get somewhere. I know some people who have been working there a long time and couldn't get a car. They had to bum for rides.

P14: 13_MWLP.txt - 14:12 (181:189) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts]

A. Okay, they constantly want to add more responsibility to you. And when you don't have the proper time to do what you're suppose to do now. That was then, still is.
Q. That's been a problem that you have noticed?
A. Yeah.

P14: 13_MWLP.txt - 14:17 (255:271) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts] [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G1. Before Union]

Q. Okay. Please describe how you became active within your union once you got that leaflet. A. I wasn't having problems but there was so many good people that was fired. For no good reason. I knew when they was going to fire someone because the supervisor would say "Oh, So— and—So seems to have an attitude." Look out the next day, that person wasn't going to be there. They had started firing people in groups. You can work today, and when you go back tomorrow, you may find a whole group of new people. Those people were blackballed, and they couldn't even get unemployment. Some of them could never get back into the medical field. So my thing was, it's them today, it may be me tomorrow. So I wanted to end this.

13 quotation(s) for code: D6. DENIES DISCRIMINATION
P 1: 2_JohnnieAndrews.txt - 1:11 (153:162) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D6. Denies discrimination]

T: Okay. Would you describe any workplace disadvantages and conflicts that you remember that you experienced? Any difficulties you had with other folks on your job or perhaps with supervisors?
JA: Maybe the supervisors on the floors were a little difficult to get along with but they always sent somebody else to take up the slack. They did not come to help you themselves, but they would always send somebody to help you, so I really did not experience no difficulties, I didn't.

Appendix A (continued)

P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:13 (241:247) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D6. Denies discrimination]

T: Alright. Please describe any workplace disadvantages and conflicts that you experienced while working at Wildwood. I mean things that you can remember, the most notable things that you can remember.
J: Don't remember conflicts.

P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:18 (329:334) (Super) Codes: [D6. Denies discrimination]

T: Alright. Would you please describe any other workplace disadvantages and conflicts that you have experienced as a black woman worker?
J: I can't think offhand.

P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:9 (78:85) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D6. Denies discrimination]

Q. Okay. Please describe any workplace disadvantages or conflicts that you experienced?
A. Well, I didn't experience no more where I was in the dish room.
Q. Did you have any conflicts with supervisors or co-workers?
A. No, I did not.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:25 (544:564) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [D6. Denies discrimination]

T. Okay, all right, thank you. Bernita, same question, are there any workplace disadvantages that you believe that you have experienced because of your race?
B. I don't think I've experienced a whole lot because of my race. I think the biggest thing for us is favoritism. If you suck up to the boss, then you're okay, if you are in the clique or in the crowd with them, then you're okay but me, I just do what I have to do. I don't care whether they like me or not. I do my job and I go home. Anybody who doesn't like that, it's just too bad. And I have said to them on occasion, is it because I'm Black?
T. Right.
B. But they won't, of course they're not going to go with that. But I don't experience a whole lot of that, no.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:26 (566:580) (Super) Codes: [D6. Denies discrimination]

T. Okay, Marion, are there any workplace disadvantages you believe you have experienced because you are a woman?
M. I really couldn't say that bad because most of the workers there are women and most of the secretaries there are women, so, you know, I really couldn't say that I really have.
T. Bernita? Are there any disadvantages in the workplace that you believe that you have experienced because you are a woman?
B. No. I don't think so. Basically, it's like she said, they are all women there, basically.

Appendix A (continued)

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:29 (695:706) (Super) Codes: [D6. Denies discrimination]

T. Could you describe any other workplace disadvantages or conflicts that you have experienced as a black woman worker, Marion? That you can think of.
M. Uhmm. Let me think about that.
T. Bernita?
B. I don't think I've experienced anything, no. There's mostly all women there and they don't, those types of conflicts really just don't happen.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:11 (207:213) (Super) Codes: [D6. Denies discrimination]

T: Okay. Let me just stay with this theme for a moment. Were there any workplace disadvantages that you believed you experienced because of your race?
S: I can't say yes or no to that. I really don't think it was racial.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:12 (215:220) (Super) Codes: [D6. Denies discrimination]

T: Okay, let's go a little further. Where there any workplace disadvantages that you believe you experienced because you were a woman?
S: No.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:13 (222:250) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts] [D6. Denies discrimination] [I2. Negative views on union] [X. Striking quote]

T: Alright. Please describe the ways in which you have been treated by those who have supervised you in your jobs in the health care industry?
S: Well, at first when I was a nursing assistant, I didn't really have many problems—but the workload was heavy.
T: Okay.
S: But, the times were good. I really enjoyed working, because it was a pleasant place to work at that time.
T: Yes, and now again that was in '76?
S: That was in '76 and '77.
T: Okay.
S: When I started at the end of '77, when I started a unit secretary job, it was pleasant.
T: Okay.
S: But in '78, '79, when the union came in, that is when most of our problems really started.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:16 (333:339) (Super) Codes: [D6. Denies discrimination]

T. Okay, as you think back, can you describe any other workplace disadvantages or conflicts that you experienced as a black woman health care worker?
S: No, not really.

Appendix A (continued)

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:23 (618:623) (Super) Codes: [D6. Denies discrimination]

TB: Although I had some bad experiences at St. Margaret's, I had some good experiences. Sister Doris and Ms. Wolf were White, but they were beautiful. They were nice, and I had no racial problems with them.

P14: 13_MWLP.txt - 14:14 (213:219) (Super) Codes: [D6. Denies discrimination]

Q. Okay. What workplace disadvantages do you believe you have experienced because you a woman? Are there any?
A. I don't think there's any because, all your supervisors are females that add these rules along, they are black females.

12 quotation(s) for code: D. WORKPLACE DISCRIMINATION
P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:14 (256:280) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

J: Well, the only thing I remember (after we came back after the strike) was that there were scabs (you know, the people that came in and worked when we went on strike). One of the jobs for a cook opened up.
T: Right.
J: And management told me since I went out on strike another woman qualified. She had more time than I had to get the job, because she worked the job while we were out on the strike. She got the job you know, but that is what it said in the contract.
T: Right.
J: It was work performed.
T: Right.
J: Okay, so she did perform the job. I didn't perform the job so they gave it to her and so that was one disagreement I had there.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:4 (73:90) (Super) Codes: [A1. Training] [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T: Okay, now let me just probe with you a little bit on this question of job description, Vanessa. You say you had a written job description in 1976. Did you ever find that you were being required to perform duties that were outside of your job description?
L: Yes, I did. We had to do a lot of things as a nurse's aide then, but it increased more in 1980. They wanted us to start doing work that the LPN's did. They wanted us to start like shaving groins and prepping patient's for surgery and it wasn't the position of a nurse's assistant to do it.
T: Yes.
L: And I complained about it and I think that that was one of the reasons I was terminated.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:36 (720:806) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

Appendix A (continued)

T: Okay. I am glad that you raised that, because that brings us right to the next question. Once you became aware that there was a union to be built up in your workplace, what kinds of activities did you and your co-workers plan and carry out in order to handle workplace problems?
L: Well, I wasn't there then.
T: Okay.
L: They fired me.
T: I remember that you said that. L: Right after the union got in management terminated me and they sent my sister to Southlake and they fired her. They fired us both.
T: I know this is a little painful, but would you mind elaborating a little bit about how that happened?
L: Well, I learned that I had gallstones, and I went into the hospital to have surgery. That's when management brought me my pink slip in the hospital.
T: While you were in the hospital?
L: While I was in the hospital I was terminated. While contract negotiations were going on.
T: So here you were in the hospital, sick, being taken care of. Was this at Methodist?
L: Yes, on the fifth floor.
T: And you were on the fifth floor of Methodist, in the building that you worked in?
L: Right.
T: And while you were in the hospital.
L: They terminated me.
T: Someone brought you a pink slip?
L: My supervisor did.
T: Do you remember what this person name was?
L: Yes, her name was Elnora Donaldson.
T: I know this may seem like a strange question.
L: She had told me if I had the surgery, I would be terminated. But my doctor had told me if I didn't have the surgery I would die, because the gallstones had broke up like gravel.
T: Yes.
L: And that was poisoning my system.
T: Yes.
L: So Dr. McDonald told me to have the surgery and I had it.
T: Yes.
L: Because I had started getting where I was passing out.
T: Yes.
L: And Elnora told me if I passed out on the job, I would be fired; and if I had the surgery I would be fired. So when I went in and had the surgery, she came to my room on the fifth floor and gave me a pink slip and it stated that I was terminated.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:37 (813:830) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T: Louella, how did you handle this when you were in the bed? This was happening, you were concerned about getting back on your feet to help take care of your family, how did you deal with this?
L: Well, when she told me, you know, I was just coming out of surgery and I was feeling a little groggy. She came back to see me and she told me that if I wanted to come back to

Appendix A (continued)

Methodist, I could. But once I came back to Methodist they had phased out the nurses' aides and made them transporters or messengers or something like that.

T: Yes.

L: So when I came back they said there wasn't a job for me.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:40 (867:892) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts] [I3. Description of union activities]

T: Okay. Now, this raises a question and I just want to go back if I may and probe a little bit. You helped to establish the union. It was very evident to your co-workers and to management that you were standing up with and for the union. Shortly after the union election victory, you were fired. Was there nothing that the union could do?

L: Well, there wasn't a binding contract at that time.

T: Okay, there was no contract yet?

L: No contract at that time. Negotiations were still going on.

T: So, in other words, you were fired even though the election had been won.

L: Right.

T: You were actually terminated before the contract had the ink on it?

L: Right.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:48 (1055:1105) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts]

T: Okay. Once you got back and were active in the union, did you think in that period that union leadership was pretty effective?

L: Yes.

T: Okay, and I am not trying to put words in your mouth, but I trying to just draw you...

L: The reason I thought it was effective then is because when management terminated me, they said if I called off sick.

T: Yes.

L: They would terminate me,

T: Yes.

L: And I called the union, and the union got on the phone and told me I had three weeks to be off, because the contract covered only three weeks.

T: Okay.

L: But I was actually in the hospital for a month.

T: Okay.

L: And they still terminated me. One week too much.

T: And you were not able to grieve that?

L: No.

T: Because there was no binding contract at that time?

L: It was a binding contract in 1980, and then they terminated me a second time, but I could not file a grievance because I hadn't been back passed a year.

T: Okay. So in other words you hadn't actually been under the contract long enough for it to be enforced?

L: To be effective enough for me to fight.

Appendix A (continued)

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:71 (1898:1924) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts] [K. Final comments] [X. Striking quote]

T: Yes, I hear you. Is there anything else that you would like to say about your workplace and union experiences?

L: I know that the reason I was demoted after nineteen years (down to a part-time employee) was because of my union activities. If it wasn't for my union activities I know that management would have never tampered with my position. I would have been still working in that position— and my co-workers are still in that position— because management only cut my co-workers because they cut me, to justify their action by saying that there were three employees that were cut, not just me.

T: Yes.

L: So they just cut me and these two other people with a lot of seniority, and the rest of them are still full-timers out there at Methodist Hospital.

T: Yes.

L: And the only reason I think that they did it is because of my union activities.

15 quotation(s) for code: K. FINAL COMMENTS
P 1: 2_JohnnieAndrews.txt - 1:60 (1010:1086) (Super) Codes: [K. Final comments]

T: Right, right. Well, Sister Andrews, this brings us to our last question. Is there anything else that you would like to say about your workplace and union experiences?

JA: Well, you know I got a good experience from the workplace. I really, really did and this woman that got the job behind me called me. She said she always asked did Johnnie have to do this, did Johnnie have to do that. Well, I said that you could call me and ask me if I had to do that, because I am not going to lie to you about it. And she said well I know that, but I just wanted....I said it is not but one thing that I hate about that job was I had to fill the dark room and when I mean about filling I had to go out and get my films and bring them in because the guys that were there when I first went there were the ones that fill the dark room and as times went on they say why should we have to fill them, we are not the one that use them she is the one that uses them and let her fill them. So I had to fill them and Gene always wanted to know from me from the other employees if I had to do this, if I had to do that, what did I do. Well, it was a lot of things that they were coming up to implement to put in for me to do, but I just wasn't there to do them. So now she has to do them and she really hates that. So she calls me. She asks around and they call me when I first left there in December. In January I was getting a call every other day. What did you do for this or what did you do for that. I said use a little common sense and that's it and that is what my job consisted of, using common sense and that I had. I had the inside scoop of common sense because I was the one that had to do the common sense stuff.

T: Anything else you would like to say.

JA: No because then I will have to go into naming people you know what I am saying?

T: Well, you don't necessarily have to name people; but you can talk about situations if you have any other things you would like to say.

JA: You know I probably would have been there a while longer, but I did not like my supervisor, because she was young. She came there after I did. Years after I did and then

Appendix A (continued)

she was that person, that was her daughter supervising and I knew that wasn't right, because they always said two relatives couldn't work in the same department and she was supervisor to her daughter and letting her get away with murder, but I didn't know it and then when they came to me and told me about these things, I began to look at them and you could see what was going on.

T: Yes, and this was happening in what year?

JA: This was happening in the year of 2003.

T: Right.

JA: And as I say, I knew that wasn't right. Her name is Sylvia Abbott and her daughter name was Jennifer Abbott. Now this was the delegate that was fired '03, and she filed a grievance because she was her daughters boss and she said why are you doing this to my daughter I love her daughter. It wasn't the idea of love, it was the idea of doing the right thing and she just wasn't the right person doing the right thing. That was a problem that was going on and the union could see it and they fired the delegate to nip that in the head.

T: I see. I see. Well, is there anything else?

JA: This is about the end of it and as I said we have new delegates now and they just don't know what is going on, they don't know what's going on, they don't care about what's going on. As long as that person is satisfied they don't care about the others. But see in being a delegate you have to love everybody and so that is it for that.

P 2: 4_AlterJean Moss.txt - 2:50 (1576:1614) (Super) Codes: [K. Final comments]

T: Okay. Well, this is the last question, Jean. Would you like to say anything else about your workplace and union experiences?

J: Mmmmm, I learned a lot, I learned a whole lot.

T: Well, can I, may I just probe with you on a particular issue, and let's see if you might have something that you might like to add. The strike that you participated in, for about 5½ or 6 months, was it a difficult experience?

J: Yeah, I mean when you have never ever been into something like that before and you don't know which direction you're going in, it is difficult. We only got $40 a week (laughs), and when that is the only income you're getting, it's difficult. (Besides, like I said, I got a job; but other people didn't have a job).

T: Right. J: But the union still took care of us.

T: Yes.

J: They would take their bills and stuff and they would pay the bills and all that.

T: Yes, yes.

J: So they took care of the people. We didn't go lacking. I think we did better out on strike then (laughs) we did when we were at work really.

P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:41 (649:657) (Super) Codes: [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [H. Eval of CS] [I1. Positive views on union] [I3. Description of union activities] [I3b.union-initiated] [K. Final comments]

A. No, because you have brought the best out of me. (laughter) There is one thing. I remember a time in 1989 when we had a one-day strike at both campuses of Methodist Hospital. It was a strike about our wages. We had just finished our contract negotiations, and management didn't want to increase our wages. We didn't go to work, but instead we

Appendix A (continued)

met at McBride Hall. As it turned out management decided to increase the wages by 3-4 cents an hour. We didn't make much, but we won. So we went back to work the next day.

P 4: 12_EdnaBarden.txt - 4:48 (976:1024) (Super) Codes: [I1. Positive views on union] [I3. Description of union activities] [I3b.union-initiated] [K. Final comments]

A. Well, like I said with the workplace, the workplace that I first worked was Wildwood Manor and the only place that I worked. I learned a lot there because like when I went there, I was a young woman, 23. When I left there I was 48. So I had to leave Wildwood, I probably would have still been at Wildwood, but my spouse got sick and my first priority is home. And with the union, it helped me to be strong, stand up for my rights and I already had instilled in me to do unto others as you have them do unto you, from my Mom. And try to teach that into the workplace, you do the same. Do unto others as you would have them do unto you. As far as the strike was concerned, we went to the union hall prior to the strike for two to three times per week. Lorenzo, Tiney, and Alice would often put up charts as we would tell them about what was going on in Wildwood. The union hall was like a therapy place; it was like home. By going to the hall, we had a place where we could learn about one another, and see what we could do to help ourselves. During the strike the people who lived around Wildwood invited us to use their bathrooms; before we got bathrooms set up. The people in the neighborhood were great! The men from the mill would come by in the mornings and brought us food and coffee. One worker even let us have the use of his van, so we wouldn't get too chilled. When we returned to work, we had to be strong. Lorenzo, Tiney and Alice had already prepared us. They told us that when we went back to work, we should do our jobs as well as we could, and we should avoid discussion about the strike while we were on duty. They also told us that management was going to try to tell us that we hadn't won, but we knew that we had. We had gotten what we asked for. We had our vacations. We had our health insurance. And we had sick-days too. We didn't all return to work at the same time, since management wanted to try and control the situation as much as possible. Once we were all back, Mr. Crump had a meeting, and he tried to do just what our organizers had told us he would. But we didn't allow him to provoke us. The workers who had not gone on strike admired us. At first they thought we would try to be bad with them, but we didn't; we understood that they had to work for their families just like we did. And they soon began to tell us about how management had treated them while we were out on strike. As they got to know us, they soon realized that they needed to be in the union, too. So they began to sign up and join.

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:48 (797:820) (Super) Codes: [K. Final comments]

Q. Anything else you would like to say Pat?

A. Well, I really would like to see more participation of the employees in the union, but I guess first of all, we have to find a way to get these employees really involved. The workers at Methodist had to stick by their contract because Methodist was out to bust the union.

Appendix A (continued)

Q. Pat, during an earlier conversation, you spoke briefly about your experience in Atlanta (during the 1980s, I think) as an organizer. Please try to describe the handling of the Atlanta organizing situation by the International of SEIU.

A. In Atlanta we had an individual whom we reported to on a daily basis. Every evening when we finished our daily assignment we had a meeting and in that meeting we discussed what we did that day and the area that we serviced. This individual reported directly to whoever was over him. After introduction of the staff, we did not really have contact with the International. I can say that the South was much different than the North in terms of organizing. We had a contract and we stuck by it tooth and nail and they did not.

P 6: 6_WAGG.txt - 6:59 (1670:1693) (Super) Codes: [K. Final comments]

T: I think I understand. Would you like to say anything else about your workplace and union experiences?

W: (Laughs). I thank God for my experiences. At the workplace it made me a thirty- year veteran (laughs out loud).

T: Of the workplace? W: Yes! I have been there thirty-three years, so that is a plus. If it had not been for the experiences and things that went on at Methodist, I don't think I would be as strong as I am now. I think I am at a medium now, where just about anything that Methodist does wouldn't be a surprise to me. (laughs)

T: Yes, yes.

W: And I love my union and I would not take anything for it. I just hope that it is here to stay. We need them. Black, white, whatever, we need them.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:71 (1898:1924) (Super) Codes: [D. Workplace Discrimination] [D5. General workplace conflicts] [K. Final comments] [X. Striking quote]

T: Yes, I hear you. Is there anything else that you would like to say about your workplace and union experiences?

L: I know that the reason I was demoted after nineteen years (down to a part-time employee) was because of my union activities. If it wasn't for my union activities I know that management would have never tampered with my position. I would have been still working in that position— and my co-workers are still in that position— because management only cut my co-workers because they cut me, to justify their action by saying that there were three employees that were cut, not just me.

T: Yes.

L: So they just cut me and these two other people with a lot of seniority, and the rest of them are still full-timers out there at Methodist Hospital.

T: Yes.

L: And the only reason I think that they did it is because of my union activities.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:87 (1935:1953) (Super) Codes: [K. Final comments] [X. Striking quote]

B. I think it's a difficult period all over the world. It's a difficult time for all of us, especially for healthcare workers, for senior citizens, for those who don't have health care. There

Appendix A (continued)

are so many people without a job and healthcare is so very important right now, but if, we need to come together and try to work on what's going to make it work for everybody. Everybody needs healthcare. We're fighting right now for universal healthcare, all over the world. We know that it won't happen over night, but it's take everybody coming together to try to get us there and I think that's the most, most powerful thing right now that we can do to help each other, is to stand together and to fight together to get for this election and vote. And do what we need to do to bring us together, make the politicians stand up and respect us, hear us and give us what we want.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:88 (1957:1979) (Super) Codes: [K. Final comments] [X. Striking quote]

M. I agree and we need to make the politicians accountable for the promises that they make the workers or the people that vote for them and then they forget all about them. Because working in the hospital in the healthcare field, you see so many people come in, not because they're ill, because they can't afford the medication. So they come to the hospital complaining that I have this problem and the doctor will say 'well did you take your meds?' 'well, I couldn't afford my meds. I had a choice of having a roof over my head or meds'. And I think that is just horrible because it makes you want to cry because that could be you over there one day. Not being able to afford your medications. And the drug companies, they're not, they don't really care because they're making a big buck off of these medications. Instead of donating or having a program for people who can't afford the medications. So this election is very important and whatever it takes for us to get the people out to vote, I'm going to be there, no matter if I have to work that day or not. I'm going to be there.

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:54 (1494:1531) (Super) Codes: [K. Final comments]

T: Right. Anything else that you would to say, Lynette, about how your union experiences, your workplace experiences impacted you, or how you feel about that activity in your life?

LS: Well, it was a good experience in my life. Sometimes I miss it now since I am retired, but I would still like to see the workers get involved to make a better union for themselves. You know what I mean, and even at this time I wouldn't mind helping do something as a volunteer if I was needed, you know?

T: Yes.

LS: It was a good experience, although sometime it was really hard and you would wonder, "Why did I get into this?" (laughs).

T: Yes, yes. Is there anything else, Lynette? Were there any things that you experienced, as a rep, that you felt made it hard for you to be accepted as a rep?

LS: Yeah, well sometimes, I have been upset when one of our supervisors out of New York, didn't send me to negotiations because I was black. Eventually, after some work within our union, we got that part straightened out too.

T: Yes.

LS: But you know we had some little set- backs like that to within the union, you know.

Appendix A (continued)

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:55 (1665:1721) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [H. Eval of CS] [K. Final comments]

Q. Priscella, we have reached the last question of the interview. And at this point, I just want to ask you, would you like to say anything else about your workplace and/or union experience?

A. Over all, thinking back to how we organized in '78; I really felt compelled to be involved in something like that because I'm a fair person and I like to see things done in a fair and orderly manner. I know that's not always society's way of looking at things, but that's just me. And what I started, I completed it, and to this day, I hate that I have gotten out of the union as far as being a member. But I have not gotten out of the union as an active person because people still come to me to this day to ask my opinion about things. Or, what do I feel needs to be done about certain things? I feel real good about that, because that makes me know that they at least have heard me and they knew that I had the type of voice and knowledge to give them the strength or either the spirit to go on further and do what needs to be done in that situation. And as far as life is concerned, I've learned a lot, the union has taught me oh, so much in the business aspect, industrial aspect of how to talk to management, just how to make your workplace a easier and better place to be. And working at the hospital with the knowledge that I had, I can't, I wouldn't trade it for anything. That's something that my mother and my father always wanted to see me do: to be in the medical field. They both wanted nursing for me; but the way nursing is nowadays, I don't know if I could have been a good nurse because of the duties that are put upon them. The nurses have a closed mouth theory. And I still can't understand it; they can kill every patient that comes through there and Methodist would be at fault. As far as I'm concerned, I've learned a lot and I'm very, very thankful for the aspects of my life at Methodist and my aspects of work with my local union. Because what I said, I don't know if I would be where I am. It has allowed me to start my own business. It has allowed me to help my family in many ways as far as doctor's visits, some of them had been avoided, some of them haven't even had to go because of the knowledge that I had to give to them to tell them what to do or let them know what needs to be done to help themselves. So that within itself is a four-year college education that I didn't have to have, that Methodist gave me, just to me, going all over the place, talking to people. Like my mother said, "You had better learn everything you can," and that's exactly what I did. I took her advice and learned everything I could.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:55 (1454:1477) (Super) Codes: [K. Final comments]

T. Is there anything else that you would like to say about your workplace and union experiences and what they meant to you and what you accomplished?

S: Well, my workplace I can't say it was all bad.

T: Yes.

S: And we did have some good days. And I enjoyed working there,

T: Yes.

S: I really enjoyed working at Methodist. The first nineteen years or eighteen years, (laughs), it was really a nice place to work.

T: How many years in total did you work at Methodist?

S: Twenty-three. I worked there from 1976 to 1999. And then I retired.

Appendix A (continued)

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:56 (1479:1496) (Super) Codes: [I1. Positive views on union] [K. Final comments]

T: Okay. Looking back, how do you feel about your union experiences?
S: Well, the union experience was good and bad. I mean it was good. At first, it was really, really good. I really enjoyed it.
T: Yes.
S: And I cannot say it was really bad, but the union helped. It was a big help, and it took a lot of the stress off of you as a worker.
T: Yes, yes.
S: It really did and I enjoyed being in SEIU, 1999 and SEIU.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:65 (1927:1939) (Super) Codes: [K. Final comments]

S. But the union, I have to give it to them because they were there when my accident happened, they brought evidence for my cases, you know, beyond their duty and they were there, the president of the union, he was there when I needed. I can't say that they weren't there when I had the accident; they were at my bedside. I had to give it because they did go beyond, the strike was still going on but they were at my bedside during what I was going through. And those times weren't easy, so I have to give it to them.

P14: 13_MWLP.txt - 14:41 (771:821) (Super) Codes: [K. Final comments] [X. Striking quote]

A. No, I think I've said enough! Maybe one experience while we were on strike in 1988.
Q. Go ahead, please.
A. That was a hard, hard time, but we stood strong from November 1988 until (I want to say) May, April or May 1989.
Q. That was the strike I believe in which Theresa lost her legs?
A. Yes.
Q. That was a very heavy experience, wasn't it?
A. Yes , it was. One of my co-workers at Wildwood had a heart attack in 1988. This made a lot of us stop and think, because we could have been in the same situation. She had no insurance. She came to work just like the folks in management, but Crump had given them health insurance, but not us. We decided that we needed to fight for what was right. People got very hyped up, very pissed about the situation. Each of us felt like the same thing could happen to us. When we pressed the administrators about why we couldn't have insurance, one of them told me, "There ain't gonna be no insurance." Joann Johnson said that. She didn't tell me that Crump couldn't afford the insurance; she said that there was not going to be any. There's a difference. We just had had enough! During the strike, we all had more food than when we had been working, because our brothers and sisters in labor and the community truly supported us. To me the strike was a bad time, especially because I never had liked being outside at night. But somehow, during those moments when I was on the line, I felt such an inspiration that we were going to be victorious. And we were! Theresa suffered a terrible accident, and that hurt us all. But we stood strong, and we won. So many people came out to support us, I grew up a lot on that picket line. When you have a man come out to walk with you, that's something. You

Appendix A (continued)

never want to take anything for granted. You have to be grateful when people have your back. To have to go the hospital to see Theresa was the most devastating day of my life.

25 quotation(s) for code: 2. PERSONAL INTERSECT COLLECTIVE AFTER UNION
P 3: 5_Anna Dixon.txt - 3:27 (358:381) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [H. Eval of CS] [I3. Description of union activities] [I3a. worker-initiated]

Q. Right. If I may, let me probe with you, Sister Dixon, the distinction that you are making now between trying to be a lawyer and being a person, would you say a little bit more about that?
A. Well, I'll say it like this. We had some delegates that would go in and try to act like Perry Mason.
Q. Go ahead, I just think that's funny the way you say that.
A. And they would, you know, they would jump down the manager's throat without even an explanation. But as for me (I'm just talking about me now), when a person would come to me with a problem with the supervisor, I didn't just take their word. I asked them to put it down on paper what it was and what time it was and then I wouldn't have a problem because the supervisor also had something down on paper and I didn't want to go in there with just my mouth. I always had them tell me exactly what happened, what was said by whom and where. That's exactly how I mostly kept my people, my co-workers, together. And most of the time, I almost always got my problems solved with the supervisor. In some things, I know some of the workers was wrong, but I know I went all the way—I couldn't let my people down; not with managers, you know?
Q. So, it sounds like, when you were called to be a delegate, today it you might be called a steward?

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:10 (102:116) (Super) Codes: [D1. Racial discrimination] [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union]

Q. Okay. Please describe any workplace disadvantages and conflicts that you experienced on the job?
A. Well, being the only Black transcriptionist, and being on top, the person with the most seniority, there were a lot of whites that didn't like that and they would go around and say little things and they would take it back to management. But by being the top black person there was nothing management could do because I had a contract.
Q. You've been waiting to laugh about that for a long time, right? (both laughing)
A. But I did that, you know, hey, that's how I went. I had a contract to back me up, so, I lived by the contract.

P 5: 1_PatThomas.txt - 5:20 (255:275) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [H. Eval of CS]

Q. Okay. As an individual worker, Pat, what kinds of actions did you plan and use to handle conflicts and disadvantages that you experienced yourself in the workplace? In other words, even though you had a union in your particular department, you were the only

Appendix A (continued)

Afro-American, so when you had any conflicts with a particular supervisor, how did you handle those situations?

A. You know what? The only conflict I really had was representing other members. You know, because when workers would say "Pat is coming," managers and administrators didn't want to deal with Pat. Since I knew my stuff, they would try to, you know, kind of smooth it over and say, "Well, hey, we won't do this, you know." But if I was out, absent or something, they would give the employee hell.

Q. Okay. So basically, as an individual worker, you didn't actually have a whole lot of problems yourself?

A. No.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:67 (1802:1824) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union]

L: And I feel that I am going to be there for them, whether they let me be or not.

T: Right.

L: So I keep educating myself, doing all I can to see anything I can do to help these workers.

T: Right.

L: And if anything that I can do to try to help them, because if they want to leave Methodist Hospital I will try to get them some information to help them—if that is what they want to do— to go to another place with opportunities and benefits for them.

T: Yes.

L: But if they want to stay within Methodist Hospital, I am going to try to work with them for all the reasons I possibly can. You know for the rights, and fight for the rights as hard as I can.

P 7: 9_LWVJ.txt - 7:72 (1926:1949) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [I1. Positive views on union]

T: How do you feel today about continuing with the union?

L: I'll still continue with the union even if I wasn't an officer or I didn't work at Methodist Hospital. I'll find something that I could do with the union, because I am still a member of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute.

T: Yes.

L: I have been a member of the A. Phillip Randolph Institute since I was seventeen years old.

T: Yes.

L: I still believe in voter registration and voter education. I'll continue doing that and I will still do it on my part-time now, even if I didn't have the position as a union member or a union steward. There will still be something in the community for me to do, and I will still do it, I'll never stop.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:60 (1328:1351) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [I1. Positive views on union]

M. What I like about our leadership is that they turn everything back over to the members because the members are the union. They didn't just put officers in place, it's all

Appendix A (continued)

members that's on the different committees, getting involved, so they can get other members that's not involved to let them know what's going on so they might want to get involved with all of us. Because we have so many committees out there that we're trying to even organize more committees because we've got, all of our union members to be on some type of committee to be involved in what's going on. Not only in the union but with what's going on in the world also. Because like she said, the election is coming up, it's a very important election, not only to union members but to all people of, especially healthcare. We work in a healthcare field and we have the poorest health care around in this country. And that is sad. And there's so many people that can't even afford healthcare, so we're trying to get all of our members involved to get the world or where ever you may live to get involved in this election.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:62 (1393:1409) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [I3. Description of union activities] [I3a. worker-initiated]

B. We've got some new people, who are stepping up right now, who are watching some of the things that we do. They can see that we're busy, we're, you know, it's not just we're sitting back and doing nothing. We're fighting for them but it takes, you know, we tell them, we can fight with you, not for you. We need you to stand with us, not behind you and not in front, we'll be right there with you. So they're standing with us and they're stepping up and they're standing, we're not sitting down and letting things just go by, you know. So they see that we're actually working hard in trying to make some changes so they're trying to get involved. We've got new people who have stepped up or decided that they, they want to get a little taste of this, they want to work with and do it. That's a good feeling.

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:35 (974:990) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [I1. Positive views on union] [I3. Description of union activities] [I3a. worker-initiated]

T: Right, okay. Lynette, this is an important issue that you are addressing and I find it coming up more and more as I talk to people who are working in the capacity of a delegate or working as a union rep as you did. Would you just try to say a little bit more about why you have concluded that if a worker takes a more active role he or she will get more out of the union experience?

LS: Because actually you will accomplish more. You will accomplish the changes that you want, because management of the facilities would listen to their workers quicker than they will what they call another union person from outside the facility.

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:37 (1048:1086) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [I3. Description of union activities] [I3a. worker-initiated]

T: Okay. That is helpful. What kinds of things did you do as a union rep to help make the union more responsive to the needs of workers in the workplaces? LS: Listen to what the workers had to say, write down all of their problems during the year. So if it was something that I couldn't change because of contract language, if we tried to get the

Appendix A (continued)

new language in the next contract, we could have meetings to talk to workers about what they should do inside the workplace.

T: Ah. Not just what management should do, but what workers should also do?

LS: Right.

T: Okay, would you just elaborate a little on this question of the need to change the contract language. Would you say a little bit more about that? How significant is the contract language in what you are able to accomplish?

LS: Very significant, because if you got the language you are going to win the grievance. The worker will get promotions, transfers, raises.

T: Yes.

LS: If the language is iffy then you might not win the grievance and you might not even get an arbitrator to see your point of view. But if the language is there you are definitely going to win the grievance and all of the above that I previously mentioned.

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:38 (1088:1147) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [I3. Description of union activities] [I3a. worker-initiated]

T: Right, so now let's back up just a little bit. Did you as a rep feel like you had to take particular pains, or particular steps, to get members organized to accept a certain kind of contract language so that you could actually get that language put into a new contract?

LS: [If we accepted iffy language in the contract sometimes you did because that was the first step in getting some language into the contract so that you could improve on it in another contract.]

T: Okay, let me just see if I understand what you are saying. In other words let's say we are reps and we are sitting down with the workers. If I am hearing you correctly, we might actually talk to our workers about a certain kind of problem and try to put language in the contract that would at least allow us some room to wiggle later on?

LS: Right, right.

T: Okay, I am just trying to draw that out because again here I think that this is one of the difficulties or the challenges that union representatives have that the public just doesn't understand.

LS: Right, 'cause they would say why did we accept that type of language and you do because it gives you something to work with, you know?

T: Yes, rather than not having any language at all.

LS: Correct.

T: Right, exactly, okay. So you would have meetings and talk with workers, write down the problems and keep a record of the various kinds of problems. Did you as a rep ever have any one-on-one meetings with management without the workers present?

LS: No, not generally. Occasionally I had a meeting where a worker would give you permission. Say go ahead and talk to them, you know what I mean?

T: Yes.

LS: "Side bargaining" is what we called it, during negotiations or something, but the majority of times we would take a member with us. It is very important to take a member with you.

Appendix A (continued)

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:39 (1149:1161) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [I3. Description of union activities] [I3a.worker-initiated]

T: Alright. Now please, Lynette, just a little bit more on why you say that. Why is it so important for you as the rep to take me with you when you sit down and talk with managers?

LS: One reason is that you want the workers to know that you are not trying to pull anything over on them with the management or settle for some language or something that they didn't want. It is just the importance of being straightforward with the worker.

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:40 (1163:1174) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [H. Eval of CS]

T: Okay, alright, thank you. That's helpful. When you look back, how would you describe the success of your efforts with others to make the union more responsive to needs of workers?

LS: Mostly just what I said. You try to be fair with the worker. Personally I didn't like saying or using abusive language and so forth to management, because that never got you anywhere and I believe that I was successful in not doing that.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:37 (1126:1150) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [I3. Description of union activities] [I3a. worker-initiated]

Q. Right. Priscella, what actions did you plan and use to make the union more responsive to needs of workers in your workplace?

A. Oh, I was there. I was up in their face a lot, asking questions about how this was done and I just spoke to someone else about bookkeeping. Because when we first started we found out that Methodist had two books. I mean, coming into the union opened up a lot of eyes as to what was going on outside this place, I mean as far as the business, how businesses keep their records. Why they keep two books, how two books are kept and, you know, the reasons why it has to be done. It's wrong, but I know a lot of people that keep two books, you know, that's just the way the industry goes, the society, industry and society has led people to do that. So with the union, people were saying that they had two books, they're paying union dues, they're not doing anything and again turning it around back to the employees, we are the union, not the organizers. And they really knew, they really found out a lot as far as what union can do for them.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:38 (1152:1182) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [I3. Description of union activities] [I3a. worker-initiated]

Q. In addition to those actions that you just mentioned, were there any other actions that you planned and used as an individual union member to make the union more responsive to the needs of the workers?

A. I was available. [I was very available, I wasn't a mom at that time, so the time that I had was with the union, letting the employees know how to go about doing this, how to speak to your supervisors. I let them know that all of us were available and that you had this at your hand to use, or you had this at your hand to use if this would come up. So I tried to

Appendix A (continued)

allow them to use me. I allowed them to use my knowledge and my mouth and any of the information that I had in order for them to be a stronger person within the union. I wanted them to understand and I preached about it, we are the union, let us to do this.] And with the retreats and other things that the union was giving the delegates, that was a good thing, too, because the delegates really, really had a lot., a lot of who the strengths are, people were bringing a lot of not, kosher things to us, small minute things that I found out then that it's the small minute things that you get rid of and you won't have a bigger hill to climb, that hill will always remain low. You can simply step over those, deal with it in a different aspect, but it doesn't get any bigger. And so when the problems got big, stuff hit the fan.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:39 (1189:1234) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [I3. Description of union activities] [I3a. worker-initiated] [I3b.union-initiated]

Q. What were your responsibilities as a delegate?

A. Oh, to make sure that in every department everybody was being treated fairly; that they knew about the union meetings; they knew who the delegates were; what our responsibilities were to them at any given time; and that we were there. We broke it down into shifts. And at that time I was mainly day shift delegate, but I was being called upon from all shifts and departments. It just wasn't a certain department that we were assigned to. We were, but people used us as they felt because if they felt comfortable with me, they would come to me. If they felt comfortable with Mary Wilson, they would go to her, Gwen, or whoever. So that's how it was, we let them know that just because you work over here and I'm suppose to have over here that you could talk to me still. You know, because I would help that delegate out in that department if I felt that he or she needed that type of help. If they came to me to ask, you know, I would give that help. I rearranged my work schedule for a lot of the meetings, for the people. I even went out to meetings off the job, when people got fired and had their meetings at the employment places, I had several meetings there. I mean, to me, I felt that was kind of like outside of the jurisdiction; but I felt compelled because I wanted to know that aspect of that type of job, that type of situation. I wanted to know how it actually went to go to the unemployment office and sit before your caseworker and find out whether you were going to get some money or not. So once I did that, I was called upon several times just to come back with certain people. I don't think that that was the delegates' job but I made that my job for the employees so that they could know, we can stretch out, just like that. It don't have to be so inside, you can stretch out and find out a lot that's involved out there. That's what I thought I'd walk to, I wanted to bring an openness, a fun way, a loving way and just an understanding way so people could know just what their union could do for them.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:55 (1665:1721) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [H. Eval of CS] [K. Final comments]

Q. Priscella, we have reached the last question of the interview. And at this point, I just want to ask you, would you like to say anything else about your workplace and/or union experience?

Appendix A (continued)

A. Over all, thinking back to how we organized in '78; I really felt compelled to be involved in something like that because I'm a fair person and I like to see things done in a fair and orderly manner. I know that's not always society's way of looking at things, but that's just me. And what I started, I completed it, and to this day, I hate that I have gotten out of the union as far as being a member. But I have not gotten out of the union as an active person because people still come to me to this day to ask my opinion about things. Or, what do I feel needs to be done about certain things? I feel real good about that, because that makes me know that they at least have heard me and they knew that I had the type of voice and knowledge to give them the strength or either the spirit to go on further and do what needs to be done in that situation. And as far as life is concerned, I've learned a lot, the union has taught me oh, so much in the business aspect, industrial aspect of how to talk to management, just how to make your workplace a easier and better place to be. And working at the hospital with the knowledge that I had, I can't, I wouldn't trade it for anything. That's something that my mother and my father always wanted to see me do: to be in the medical field. They both wanted nursing for me; but the way nursing is nowadays, I don't know if I could have been a good nurse because of the duties that are put upon them. The nurses have a closed mouth theory. And I still can't understand it; they can kill every patient that comes through there and Methodist would be at fault. As far as I'm concerned, I've learned a lot and I'm very, very thankful for the aspects of my life at Methodist and my aspects of work with my local union. Because what I said, I don't know if I would be where I am. It has allowed me to start my own business. It has allowed me to help my family in many ways as far as doctor's visits, some of them had been avoided, some of them haven't even had to go because of the knowledge that I had to give to them to tell them what to do or let them know what needs to be done to help themselves. So that within itself is a four-year college education that I didn't have to have, that Methodist gave me, just to me, going all over the place, talking to people. Like my mother said, "You had better learn everything you can," and that's exactly what I did. I took her advice and learned everything I could.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:56 (1723:1753) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [H. Eval of CS] [I1. Positive views on union] [I3. Description of union activities] [I3a. worker-initiated] [X. Striking quote]

Q. So how long were you actually a member of the union? You're not a member now?
A. No. I was an active member for 10 years.
Q. Okay, and then because of your job?
A. We subcontracted. Our department subcontracted and at that time, the people in my department, which was some older women, they felt that they didn't need a voice to speak for them because they were just as loud-mouthed, or they were just as boisterous, as I was with dealing with their own problems and settling their own problems. But I was trying to get them to see that having the union behind you, your job security is there. Now, since we have not been in the union since '88, six women have actually left that department wrongly. Wrongly. It was something that, if they had the union there, all they had to do was file a grievance and it all would have been rectified. But they felt that they didn't need a second voice to help them out and that's where I feel we, we went wrong. I could have signed the union card and stayed within the union but I would not be a pharmacy technician to this day. So I was trying to advance my career in the hospital and

Appendix A (continued)

I could not have done that and stayed in the union because I couldn't get my people to sign union cards. So that's why I had to step out of the union.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:17 (341:370) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union]

T: Alright, let's move to the next category of questions. When did you become a member of your union?
S: I think we started the union in '78 or '79. I think it was one of those years.
T: Okay. And do you remember the name of the union that you were helping to establish?
S: It was 1199.
T: I see. Now, as you well know, sometimes people join unions, but don't necessarily a become very active in those institutions. When did you become active?
S: Well, when the union first started I was very active.
T: Okay.
S: I was never a union rep, but, I did support it.
T: Yes.
S: I supported my union and I fought throughout my union.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:24 (487:488) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union]

S: And so, when the union was established, I would file grievances.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:45 (1121:1146) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union]

T: Okay. I know you had said before that you were not a rep, and you were not an elected official; but as a member of the union what kinds of actions did you plan, and use, to make the union more responsive to the needs of workers? Can you think of anything that you did?
S: I really didn't do. I don't think I did a whole lot.
T: Okay.
S: Maybe something that I said, they worked around that.
T: Okay.
S: But like I said before, I was a worker, in the background; I was not a rep.
T: I see.
S: I would just talk to some of the reps and give them some ideas. My ideas and they would take it and use that.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:46 (1148:1176) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union]

T: Alright. When you look back, how successful would you say you were? In other words describe the success of your efforts, you individual efforts to go to the reps and to speak up and to try and help the union to become more responsive to the needs of workers?

Appendix A (continued)

S: I think the reps worked around some of the things that I said, they worked around some of my criticisms.
T: Okay.
S: And I think they listened when I would tell them to go and talk to some of the union members and get their ideas of things.
T: Yes.
S: Even after I retired I would tell them you know, "Go talk to them. Maybe they don't understand what we are really into now." And they would do that.
T: Okay, all right. In terms of you success would you give yourself ah, a, b, c, or a d?
S: I rate myself high:
A. (laughs)

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:49 (1310:1339) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union]

Q. Right, right. Theresa, I know this happened some time ago, so you're having to remember, but is there anything else that you can think of that you and your co-workers did to prepare yourselves or even the patients and their families for the strike that was coming?
A. In the health care situations, you have to notify your employer in the facility so they can have other people come in for the residents; you don't want anybody to die or anything. Well, the residents were hearing, some of the families were hearing what was going on, they asked us about it. We talked with them. I said, "Well, I know I'm walking." We told them what we were going to do. And we told them, "If you want to take your families out, you better take them out now. If you are not, you know, prepare yourself. And you'd better be here to watch your family."
Q. Right. And why did you all do that? A. Because I knew management wasn't going to have nobody good to work in there. And the ones that were going to stay, they weren't that great as workers.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:50 (1382:1411) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [I3. Description of union activities] [I3a. worker-initiated] [X. Striking quote]

A. During the strike? We was outside, you know, but when families would come in to visit their related, they would tell us what was going on in the building; how people weren't getting cleaned and how the food wasn't good, like when we was working. And then we saw a lot of people going out in ambulances all the time and I said, "They're getting sick." Well, the patients and the supporters wanted us back in. You know how I am; I've got a mouth, so I went to the Teamsters and asked them to help us, to support us on the picket lines. And then the other unions supported us; the steel mill workers, you know. People came out to support us. They knew we was trying to better ourselves. And the residents' families would yell when they came in, "Keep getting what you want!" They was encouraging.
Q. Right, right.

Appendix A (continued)

A. That's all we did, we just went around to different places and people came out and donated money to help us out. They would tell us to keep on, keep on striking, in what you believe. They would even bring us food.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:52 (1431:1468) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G2. After Union] [I3. Description of union activities] [I3a. worker-initiated] [I3b.union-initiated]

Q. Okay. Well Theresa, let me ask you this. While you were on strike, how did you all encourage one another? What kinds of things did you do to keep your morale up and to help one another? Were you a picket captain? How did you organize your pickets so that people didn't all have to be out at the same time? What kinds of things did you do?
A. We asked everybody which shift they wanted to take. And we had 3 shifts, morning, noon and midnight.
Q. Okay.
A. And I told them I wanted midnight. And you know, another girlfriend wanted midnights. Charlotte Brown and Edna Barden wanted to be in the morning. Jean, I think, was 3-11, I can't remember.
Q. The coal?
A. That's how we set it up. You know we had the barrels, the supporters brought the barrels, shanties, and everything for us. And the steel mills came out and supported us, even gave us food during the strike. And the steel workers brought the coke from Bethlehem.
Q. Steel workers?
A. I said, "That's beautiful." If we didn't have enough food, they brought us food. Then later on somebody brought us a van, a camper to keep warm.

P14: 13_MWLP.txt - 14:19 (303:316) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS] [G. Collective strategies] [G1. Before Union] [G2. After Union] [H. Eval of CS] [I1. Positive views on union]

Q. Right. Were there any other kinds of measures that you took as an individual to make your life easier as a worker?
A. My concern more or less, would be about my co-workers, and my residents. My thing is, as I tell some now, I hear some saying, "Oh, we're paying out the money and we're not getting the proper service. They need to vote the union out." I would say, "You do what you have to do. You think it's hell now, try working here without a union! I could cover my butt. I covered it before the union came. I can still cover but can you cover yours?"

15 quotation(s) for code: AA. PERSONAL INTERSECT COLLECTIVE BEFORE UNION
P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:17 (355:363) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G1. Before Union]

Q. Before we established the union, we would always look out for one another. For instance, if someone would oversleep, one of us would punch her time-card so she wouldn't get

Appendix A (continued)

into trouble. Or, if someone reported off, we would call someone to make sure that shift was covered. In that instance, one of us would volunteer to work over so that all of the work was covered.

P 8: 14_CBMP.txt - 8:23 (493:501) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G1. Before Union]

C: Right. I was doing it for other coworkers to, because I had insurance and they didn't.
T: Okay, and did you have insurance through your work or through your family?
C: Through my family. My husband had insurance as a steelworker at Inland Steel.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:32 (753:776) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G1. Before Union] [I1. Positive views on union]

T. Okay. Marion, would you please, say a little bit more in your description of how you became active within the union, 1199.
M. I would get up early in the morning before my time to be at work which is at 7 o'clock and it was nothing for me to be out in front of Methodist Hospital, they had workers coming in at like 5 and leaving early, to pass out leaflets. It didn't get too cold for us to be out there. I was always passing out leaflets, I was tearing down posters that management would put up against the union, propaganda. I would also put up posters of the union, that they would tear down. I even took people throwing letters back into my face asking why am I being involved, this is not something that's good for you, that they're just going to take your money. But I felt strong enough that if Methodist was treating me with $3.04 an hour that the union had to be better than this. And then that I'd grown up in a union family, I knew it was better than this. So whatever it took, I was there.

P 9: 7-8 ME BD.txt - 9:36 (850:883) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G1. Before Union]

B. I think the biggest problem back then was ah, disadvantages were people didn't understand, but many of us came from union families and you know, you talk about the steel workers, you see the steel workers and all the good work that they've done, and most of the people and their families came from, you know, steel, they came from steel workers.
T. Right.
B. So you know, it was kind of tough trying to explain to people as to why we needed a union. We had, you know, there were a lot of times when we had to walk down the hallway and they would always make people think that some thing was going to happen to them. They didn't, the hospital had non union people, those who were against the union, thinking that those of us who were for a union, would harm them. So you had to be careful and you always had to go in pairs, never get on the elevator by yourself, don't take the stairway alone. They tried to make people afraid. We tried to talk to people and basically, as Marion said, we talked to people a lot of times when we're together. And it was good that we had education from, you know, Marion would come back with things. Sometimes we would all go and sit and talk. But we worked things out that way so that

Appendix A (continued)

we could help people to understand and we wanted them to know that it was all about respect. Not money, it's about respect. And if you can get that respect and can stand together, you can win together.

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:14 (401:410) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G1. Before Union]

T: Alright. Now was it before 1977 when you became really active?
LS: It was before '77 because I helped organize the union into existence.
T: Okay, okay. So you actually became active in what year?
LS: I know, probably in '75.

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:15 (421:427) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G1. Before Union]

T: Would you please describe how you became active within the union?
LS: Well, we got other co-workers to sign union cards. We passed leaflets in front of the hospital. Went to meetings and done demonstrations at the hospital.

P10: 3_LSTR.txt - 10:21 (550:583) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G1. Before Union]

T: Okay, so before you actually were able to help establish the union, you obviously were successful enough to hold on to your job?
LS: Yes. If you were going to do union activity, you could not be a slacker. You would have to be at work on time and you would have to do your work. And you would have to kind of put a effort into making sure that everything was taken care of at work so that you wouldn't get wrote up. You could be terminated if you had had any previous infractions.
T: I see.
LS: You couldn't take a person who had a lot of write-ups and have them do some of these demonstrations, 'cause they would get fired and they wouldn't get their jobs back, because the boss could show that they fired them for just cause.
T: I see. So, you had to, as our parents used to say, "walk the chalk line"?
LS: Right.
T: If you were going to be active you had to really be known as someone who was going to really do a day's work?
LS: Right.

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:23 (578:592) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G1. Before Union]

Q. Priscella, as an individual worker, what actions did you plan and use to handle disadvantages and conflicts that you experienced in the workplace?
A. Well, I pretty much handled my own. At that time I was really, what, almost 10 years working, so I pretty much had it together for myself; but I just knew that there were other people that needed help. So [I made myself available to them by letting them

Appendix A (continued)

know that whatever time of day, if you've gotten into trouble with your supervisor or whatever—whether it was days, 3- 11 or midnight—I was available to try to rectify it though conversation or through whatever action was necessary.]

P11: 10_PW.txt - 11:25 (634:680) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G1. Before Union]

Q. Priscella, what result did you intend to achieve through your individual efforts to handle workplace problems? You said that you pretty much had arrived at a point at which you handled your own situations. What kind of results were you trying to achieve?

A. I wanted management to collaborate more with the employees; I wanted management to hear what they had to say, because some of them were very legitimate in what their complaints were about. They were very much work-related complaints; but they not only were scared, they were not comfortable in doing things a little off the norm. I'm not talking extreme. I'm not talking about stealing. I'm not talking about beating people up. I'm not talking about trying to poison people or not clean or do their job. There were just other things that the supervisor felt that the workers didn't have to do; but the employee doing the job knew that certain things come up. You can write a lot of things down on paper but that is not to say that it will be performed by a human being dot by dot, by dotted "I" by dotted "I." That's why I'm saying "things off the norm." Just a little off the norm, but I just wanted to see a little bit more unity there. I wanted to see the supervisors understand that we're not evil mean people, we just want fair money, fair trade for the job that's done. Because if they think about it (and I told management this in the union meeting), we can make you and we can break you, so why not allow us to make you? So then, we're not going to allow you to break us, so this is why we have the union. And I know some of them heard me because I feel myself (and I have been told by a couple) that they gained more respect for the union because of the things that were said and how they were said. Because I guess they thought we were a bunch of buffoons and was just going to sit out there and cuss and fuss instead of trying to put things down in a nicely organized fashion. They weren't looking for us to be that organized. And when we were, they were just as shocked because we came through for them.

P12: 11_SB.txt - 12:31 (660:685) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS] [G. Collective strategies] [G1. Before Union]

T. How would you describe your success of your individual efforts? For example, how would you describe your successes in going to your head nurse or supervisor to get problems resolved?

S: You know at one point, I think when I did go to her and she would tell me, "We just have to do what we have to do;" then she would come back sometimes and give me a hand in what I was trying to do. And then other times she would get me some more help. She would get me another person and than we would start working like a team.

T: Yes.

S: You know one girl would have eight patients and I would have my eight patients, and we would work together. And we would get the job done.

T: Yes. Yes.

S: That was later into the work time.

Appendix A (continued)

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:33 (850:876) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G1. Before Union]

A. Take care of myself on the job? You know, my boss said I couldn't have nothing. So when I did get that job I had to go out of my pockets, if I wanted to keep my residents smelling good. That was a disadvantage because it hurt in my pocket a little bit, but for the love for your patients, you'll do a lot of stuff. And you want your patients to smell good when your boss come around. When we had glove problems, we all worked together; we all came together as a group. We never did that and this time we stood up. We needed a certain kind of soap for deodorizing the residents' bodies; and we had to fight for that because management didn't want to give it to us all of the time; they were short in their supplies. And sometimes we brought our own stuff from home and washed the residents up. And that, I said, handled my problems because had to make your residents smell good and we worked together as a group. That was a disadvantage because they should have had lifters when we needed to pick residents up. Management didn't have it.

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:34 (878:915) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G1. Before Union]

Q. So when you had to lift, you would have to get help from some one else?
A. From another resident, or if the guys were nice [the ones that mop the floor].
Q. I see.
A. They would help, but that wasn't their job description.
Q. Right, right.
A. And sometimes it was just hard, you know, women lifting someone that is 300-400 lbs. off of the bed or something like that.
Q. Right, right. A. It's hard. And when they're wrestling and don't want it [you know how old people are], they get cantankerous in their ways. But we made it. We brought clothes in, we did a lot of stuff that we shouldn't have had to do.
Q. Out of your own pocket?
A. Out of our own pockets. And that cut into our money because I only brought about $200 and some home; $215 or something like that. That was a disadvantage when you had to pay for your car note and you had to pay for your house. So you had to work doubles to make that extra, to put on that extra little check, you know?

P13: 15_TB.txt - 13:36 (952:974) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS] [G. Collective strategies] [G1. Before Union] [H. Eval of CS]

Q. Were there any activities that you and your co-workers engaged in to get management to make changes around the workplace?
A. Well, they didn't get us nobody to lift. Now they got them since I've left. The other managers have brought in orderlies that work with the residents. But we didn't have no orderlies. Sometimes I'd be ornery; I would get Mr. Crump's son when he was there, off college vacation, and pull him into the room. I'd say, "Come on, follow me! You're getting paid too, come on." And that was how I was messing with people. And I got him to work, to come in and help.

Appendix A (continued)

Q. So Thomas Crump had at least one member of his family working there?
A. Yes, it was his son that was on the payroll.

P14: 13_MWLP.txt - 14:17 (255:271) (Super) Codes: [D5. General workplace conflicts] [E. Personal strategies] [G. Collective strategies] [G1. Before Union]

Q. Okay. Please describe how you became active within your union once you got that leaflet.
A. I wasn't having problems but there was so many good people that was fired. For no good reason. I knew when they was going to fire someone because the supervisor would say "Oh, So— and—So seems to have an attitude." Look out the next day, that person wasn't going to be there. They had started firing people in groups. You can work today, and when you go back tomorrow, you may find a whole group of new people. Those people were blackballed, and they couldn't even get unemployment. Some of them could never get back into the medical field. So my thing was, it's them today, it may be me tomorrow. So I wanted to end this.

P14: 13_MWLP.txt - 14:19 (303:316) (Super) Codes: [E. Personal strategies] [F. Evaluation of PS] [G. Collective strategies] [G1. Before Union] [G2. After Union] [H. Eval of CS] [I1. Positive views on union]

Q. Right. Were there any other kinds of measures that you took as an individual to make your life easier as a worker?
A. My concern more or less, would be about my co-workers, and my residents. My thing is, as I tell some now, I hear some saying, "Oh, we're paying out the money and we're not getting the proper service. They need to vote the union out." I would say, "You do what you have to do. You think it's hell now, try working here without a union! I could cover my butt. I covered it before the union came. I can still cover but can you cover yours?"

APPENDIX B

Beginning Wages at Northwest Region Workplaces

The names of each study subject can be found below, along with their starting year, initial wage rate, and the institution in which she worked.

1. Lynette Smith------1956-------$0.90/hr.-------Mercy Hospital
2. Edna Barden-------1966-------$1.00/hr.------- Wildwood Nursing Home
3. Mildred Wallace---1966-------$1.00/hr.------- Wildwood Nursing Home
4. Charlotte Brown---1967-------$1.25/hr.------- Wildwood Nursing Home
5. Wilma Autry-------1971-------$2.00/hr.------- Methodist Hospital
6. Priscella Wilson---1971-------$2.02/hr.------- Methodist Hospital (Northlake)
7. Anna Dixon--------1972-------$1.36/hr.------- Methodist Hospital (Northlake)
8. Theresa Brown----1972-------$3.45/hr.-------Wildwood Nursing Home
9. Marion Epps-------1975-------$3.04/hr.------- Methodist Hospital (Southlake)
10. Louella Wallace---1976-------$2.97/hr.------- Methodist Hospital (Northlake)
11. Bernita Drayton---1976-------$3.33/hr.------- Methodist Hospital (Southlake)
12. Shirley Baldwin---1976-------$4.50/hr.------- Methodist Hospital (Northlake)
13. Johnnie Andrews--1976-------$3.22/hr.------- Methodist Hospital (Southlake)
14. Pat Thomas---------1978-------$5.50/hr.-------Methodist Hospital (Southlake)
15. Alter Jean Moss----1985-------$3.25/hr.-------Wildwood Nursing Home

APPENDIX C

Tables

Table C1. Race and Gender of Supervisors and Co-Workers for Study Cohort

	Black/Female (N)	White/Female (N)	White/Male (N)	Mixed* (N)
Supervisor Race & Gender	5	12	2	3
Co-Worker Race & Gender	6	4	0	7

*Defined as a mix of men and women, Black, White and Hispanic

Table C2. Union Presence in Workplace at Time of Initial Employment

	Yes	No
Union Present in Workplace	4	10

APPENDIX D

Questions for Data Collection

Given the significance and the expectations of this research project, several categories of questions have been identified, and will enable this researcher to structure the collection and evaluation of data. The collection of data from study subjects will be accomplished in two steps. The first step will be to provide subjects with a questionnaire comprised of basic background information. Such information can most usefully be attained through a questionnaire to avoid long and multiple interviews. Questions asked within Category 1 will be reserved for the projected questionnaire. Remaining categories of questions will be asked in a single in-depth interview that will not exceed three (3) hours. The categories of questions will be as follows:

1. Questions regarding personal and employment backgrounds of the study subjects;

2. Questions about experiences of waged labor in healthcare workplaces of Gary and Northwest Indiana;

3. Questions about individual and collective plans and actions to respond to problematic conditions in healthcare workplaces—especially conditions reflecting the operation of race, class, and gender;

4. Questions regarding the workers' evaluations of the success of their individual and collective responses to workplace conditions;

5. Questions regarding plans of action to make the union more responsive to the needs of workers;

Appendix D (continued)

6. Questions regarding workers evaluations of efforts made within the union to increase union responsiveness;

7. Questions regarding workers' plans and actions for balancing demands of workplace and home;

8. Questions regarding worker's evaluations of the success of efforts to balance demands of workplace and family.

9. A question regarding any final comments the workers may wish to make regarding their workplace and union experiences.

While questions formulated within each of the foregoing categories will serve as the main queries for collecting data in interviews with study subjects; one of the assumptions of the study is that in varying instances, follow-up questions will be necessary in order to fully understand oral responses of study subjects.

Schedule of Projected Questions

The following questions are projected within each of the previously identified categories:

Category 1 (Questionnaire)

1. When were you born?

2. Where were you born and reared?

3. What male and female relatives lived with you within your household?

4. What kinds of work did your parents do for wages?

5. What kinds of work did male and female family members do within your household?

6. How much formal education were you able to attain?

Appendix D (continued)

7. In your formal years of education, what were the races of your classmates and teachers?

8. If you were not born in Gary, Indiana, when did you move to Gary?

9. What kinds of jobs did you have before you began working in health care?

10. What were your duties in these jobs?

11. When did you begin working in the health care industry in Gary/Northwest Indiana?

12. What facilities have you worked in since you entered the health care industry?

13. If there have been other members of your family who have worked in health care facilities, where did they work and what kinds of work did they do?

Category 2

1. What were/are your duties at the healthcare facility?

2. Who taught you, or helped you to learn, your job duties?

3. Did/do you have a written job description to identify your job duties?

4. How much did/do you make per hour in your job?

5. What shift(s) and hours did/do you work?

6. What were/are the races and genders of your supervisors or bosses at your workplace?

7. What were/are the races and genders of your coworkers at your workplace?

8. Was there a union in your workplace, and if so, what was the name of the union?

9. Describe any difficult or dangerous aspects to your job?

10. Describe any workplace disadvantages and conflicts that you have experienced?

11. What workplace disadvantages do you believe you have experienced because of your race?

Appendix D (continued)

12. What workplace disadvantages do you believe you have experienced because you are a woman?

13. Describe the way(s) you have been treated by those who supervised you in your job(s) in the health care industry?

14. Describe any other workplace disadvantages and conflicts that you have experienced as a black woman worker?

Category 3

1. When did you become a member of your union?

2. When did you become active?

3. Describe how you became active within your union?

4. What actions did you plan and use to handle disadvantages and conflicts that you experienced in the workplace?

5. What actions did you and your co-workers plan and use to handle problems that you experienced together?

6. What results did you intend to achieve through your individual efforts to handle workplace problems?

7. What results did you and your co-workers intend to achieve through your collective efforts to handle workplace problems?

Category 4

1. Describe the success of your individual efforts to handle workplace difficulties and conflicts?

2. Describe the success of the collective efforts made by you and your co-workers to handle workplace difficulties and conflicts?

Category 5

1. Describe the major activities of your union?

Appendix D (continued)

2. Describe the effectiveness of your union leadership in helping workers address difficulties and conflicts with management?
3. Describe the effectiveness of your union leadership in helping to make your union inclusive and participatory?

4. Do you believe your union is mainly responsive, mainly unresponsive, or sometimes responsive and sometimes unresponsive to the needs of workers?

5. Describe the participation of your co-workers who are members of your union?

6. What workplace and/or union conditions made you believe that you needed to act to make the union more responsive to workers' needs?

7. What actions did you plan and use to make the union more responsive to the needs of workers in your workplace?

Category 6

1. Describe the success of your efforts to make the union more responsive to the needs of workers in your workplace?

Category 7

1. What male and female relatives live with you in your household?

2. How do you and family members decide who will be responsible for particular duties within the household?

3. Describe any duties or chores that you feel compelled to perform because you are a woman?

4. In what ways have your responsibilities and conditions at your workplace interfered with your responsibilities in your household?

5. Describe any feelings of frustration or disappointment about not being able to meet expectations and demands of your workplace and household?

6. In what ways have your responsibilities in your household helped you with your responsibilities at work?

7. In what ways have your responsibilities in your household helped you with your responsibilities as a union member?

Appendix D (continued)

8. In what ways have your responsibilities and activities as a worker and union member helped you with responsibilities and demands in your household?

9. What actions did you plan and use to balance demands of workplace and home?

Category 8

1. Describe the success of your efforts to balance demands of workplace and home?

Category 9

1. Would you like to say anything else about your workplace and union experiences?

APPENDIX E

Dissertation Diary

[Begun June 11, 2003]

**June 11 Meeting w Ms. Lurella Pierce*

My initial meeting w Ms. Pierce occurred at the Clark Nursing Facility at 1964 Clark Rd. I was gratified to hear this 64-year-old Black women speak of her work experiences w the passion and incisiveness that she displayed.

**July 22 Conversation w Sis. Edna Barden*

My most notable impressions of Sis. Barden as a result of today's conversation (untaped/designed mainly to "get acquainted"), are as follows:

[1.] Edna comes from Hattiesburg, Mississippi and she has a fairly strong sense of "appropriate" behaviors for a Black woman/man. Questions: How did Edna develop such strong ideas re "appropriate "female" and "male" ideals/behaviors? How did she manage to balance "home" responsibilities w those of the struggle for the union? [2.] Edna has lived in Gary for about 40 years, having come from her home in 1963?, the year when she graduated from high school at 19 and got married to her current husband; she notes that when she arrived in Gary in the 1960s *she* did not really notice segregation—although her husband became very aware of its features. In fact, Edna saw Gary as different from the Hattiesburg area, where she had known segregation, albeit not because of direct and immediate experiences (Edna noted that as a "child" she was somewhat sheltered by the adults in her life). [3.] Edna underscores the fact that as she and other African-American women became involved in struggles to establish a union at Wildwood (now Clark), support seemed to come much more readily from White men in the area than from African American me—excepting the support of the women's husbands!! Explore this with her later. Question: How did/does Edna explain this apparent contradiction? [4.] White owners and administrators of the nursing home sought to manipulate Black workers by placing Black supervisory personnel between the workers and themselves. This was just one of the ways in which management tried to entice Black women workers away from support for the union. Questions: how did the union handle such race-baiting tactics? How did the union attempt to educate and organize workers to withstand such devious tactics? [5.] Edna notes that she and her coworkers did get support from USWA Locals 1014 and 1010 during the strike for unionization a Wildwood. Explore.

Appendix E (continued)

**July Conversation w Sis. Lurella Pierce*

During my brief meeting w Sis Lurella at her workplace [Clark Nursing and Rehabilitation Facility] she touched on a number of themes that should be explored in our first taped conversation—which I hope will take place next weekend (she only gets two days off every other weekend). Some of the important themes are as follows: [1] Lurella spoke of the problem of motivating current union members to "step forward" to become more active as stewards. Since there is no pay many members simply do not wish to take the time to learn how to perform this extremely important function. Lurella has spoken of this problem before {see written notes of our very first conversation during her break at work]. [2] Lurella speaks painfully of the serious problem of "turnover." The low pay and poor working conditions—including the manipulative efforts of management—make workers very unwilling to put up with staying at this type of service occupation. The turnover thus contributes to the difficulty in establishing a strong sense of community within the workplace, with workers willing to look out for themselves and their coworkers. One of the tragic consequences is the intensification of tendencies for workers to seek individual "solutions" and become more and more individualistic in thought and behavior. [3] Lurella also spoke of the precipitous rise in the cost of workers' insurance and the hardship of workers having to pay for their own uniforms! The union contract apparently has no language as yet that obliges management to provide the uniforms for workers. Re the matter of insurance payments, Lurella notes that there apparently is some language that provides for workers to pay toward their insurance, yet what really angers her is the seemingly arbitrary and precipitous manner in which management levies changes in the amount required. Explore this condition further. [4] Lurella's life is made more complex by the fact that she feels obliged to help out her younger relative by caring for her children. This means that most of Lurella's life, both paid labor and unpaid labor, is devoted to social reproductive tasks!!! Here we can readily see that there is no real distinction, for Sis. Lurella, between the tasks in the "public" sphere and the tasks in the "private" sphere. Explore this more fully, and think about what Hazel Carby has written. [5] Lurella flashed hot when she recalled how a nurse and an administrator (I think these are two White women, although I don't have anything but a hunch—check this!) tried recently to add to Lurella's work load. She underscores how this seemed very unfair, especially since the nurse spends much of her work shift sitting down while Lurella spends most of her time at work moving around to insure that all the patients for whom she is responsible get their medicines in the proper dosages and in a timely manner. This reflection by Lurella seems to speak to staffing and workload inequities in the workplace. If in fact the women trying to add work to Lurella's job are White, the matter of racialized notions of womanhood and "appropriate tasks" come up for discussion. If these supervisory personnel are Black, the problem of hierarchy is still present even if the hierarchy is not immediately racialized. [6] Lurella spoke again tonight of the reasons for her long-standing commitment to the work of

Appendix E (continued)

activism in the union: helping to establish a firm defense for other workers!! Her commitment to "having the backs" of her coworkers is remarkable. [7] Lurella is feeling more comfortable w me, and she grows more willing to talk—even to be taped—about her experiences. This is very important. I am developing a rapport with individual women. Keep working at this.

**Notes Re the Work of Lisa D. Brush:*

Prof. Brush's essay, "Gender, Work, Who Cares?!" [in Ferree, Lorber, and Hess/2000] provides valuable insights and arguments for my discussion of significance. Coupled with insights and analysis from E.V. Glenn, I eventually complete my discussion in a thorough, nuanced manner.

**Notes on Dissertation Work, 4.5.04:*

Reach out to the study subjects Edna Barden and Bernita Drayton (others?). Who are the *centerwomen?* Help them understand the "conversations" as (1) a means to provide information to help create new knowledge; (2) a means of engaging the study women in determining how to use the new knowledge in constructive ways in the Gary [working-class] community.

**Notes for 5.5.04:*

Leading activists and intellectuals of the modern African –American convention movement made little theoretical and political space for women to contribute to the ongoing struggle for social justice. Yet these women did contribute. In doing so—in a number of places and initiatives yet to be fully explored—they helped set valuable standards of opposition to oppression and discrimination in contemporary U.S. life.

In the early 1980s the emerging activism of African-American women worker reflected certain understandings being developed by women/feminists within a number of disciplines, including political science. Yet such understandings were largely unknown and invisible to many Black activists and theorists of Black-led social movements. To some extent, then, African-American women health care workers represented "shock troops" who were opposing the confluent factors comprising a new and more complex stage of political and economic struggles in which old formulae and methods would be of little use. See the work of both Janet Flammang (1997) and Berenice Carroll (1979) re this phenomenon.

Appendix E (continued)

**Notes for 25.7.04:*

As of this date, see this electronic journal as well as my hand-written journal for entrees on the dissertation process.

As of this date, I have scheduled interviews with the following women: Sis. Johnnie Andrews, Sis. Lurella Pierce, Sis. Anna Dixon, Sis. Jean Moss, and Sis. Priscilla Wilson.

I am also investigating the possibility of securing the services of an additional transcriber, a woman whom Najja has employed in some of his previous work. This investigation now seems necessary because as the summer winds downs and Pat's duties within Labor Studies will increase. This will mean that she will have time constraints that will probably slow down her efforts to transcribe for me. Check with Najja as soon as possible.

**Notes for 26.7.04:*

I had the first two interviews today, one w/ Sis. Johnnie Andrews, the other w/ Sis. Lurella Pierce. Below find comments based upon an initial review of the interviews. During each of my interviews today, I came upon a need for clarification of, or distinguishing between, the concepts of *household* and *family*. My original questions focused upon the possible contradiction(s) between the assumed tasks of the household of a Black woman worker and the tasks or demands of her workplace and union. Yet in the cases of each of the women interviewed today, neither can be said to have a household in the sense customarily ascribed to the concept—that is, in the sense of a woman having to attend to the needs of multiple persons within a nuclear unit. Both women have been living alone for decades. Yet both have also attended to the needs of members of their families who reside elsewhere, yet make certain requests or demands upon the limited time of each woman. Thus, in order to make sense of the actual situation of each woman, I felt a need to alter my terminology during the interview, and I used family and household together in order to cover the situations and elicit a response. To me, this experience calls for some recognition of the ties by which some women are bound—or feel bound—to others. One thing that seems clear is that what is central to each of these women is not their relationship to a man by marriage, but their familial regard—their ethic of care—for others in their families. Reflect upon this further…

Yet another point that occurred to me today is the relationship between one's lessons learned within one's family and the forthrightness with which one learns to speak and stand for oneself within the workplace. Each woman seemed to confirm Sacks's observation of how African American women in North Carolina drew resolve for workplace resistance from their development as responsible human agents within their families. These women refused to be treated like children within the workplace—by

Appendix E (continued)

White supervisors and/or co-workers—when they knew their demonstrated abilities to responsibly dispatch a range of tasks within their own families and households.

While I have not yet reviewed each of the two interviews, I am keenly aware of my need to become more adept at the skills of interviewing. Specifically, I need to learn how to more effectively relate my questioning to the demeanor and responses of the subjects. During the course of an interview the interviewer may find that certain questions simply do not make sense. One may simply need to move on to those (other) questions which actually address the experience(s) of the subject of the interview. I need to learn how to do this more effectively. I made some worthwhile adjustments today, yet I felt awkward. This is understandable, I think. I will become more adept as I continue to interview and learn from my engagements with subjects.

**Notes for 2.8.04:*

The interview w/ Sis. Anna Dixon went pretty well this morning. I am learning how to more effectively get at what a person is trying to communicate. Today I reframed and rephrased certain questions when the original question proved to be less than useful in eliciting a sought-for response. I also think that it is useful to "stop the tape recorder" at certain points in order to talk w/ a respondent about a silence or a response that seems somewhat contradictory. This lets the person relax and re-focus on what you may be trying to elicit. The trick, however, is to steer clear of "leading" a respondent by explaining what you are looking for. In some cases, by telling a person what you are trying to find out, a researcher may actually suggest a response that the respondent has not been inclined to give. Be careful to qualify the explanation by letting a person know that you realize that what you are looking for may not be evident within her experience! Be wary!

Sis. Dixon has related some very disturbing experiences that she had while working as a domestic for wealthy, middle-class, white families in Skokie, Illinois. While working for one family, she had to get a ride from Gary to a stop close to the suburb in which the family lived. There she would be picked up and transported to the home. Sis. Dixon was expected to stay at this home for several days of each week, and then she could come back to Gary for a couple of days. This arrangement, a compromise between being a "live-in" domestic and performing "day work," is reminiscent of similar arrangements in South Africa's apartheid past that I learned about many during the 1960s and 1970s. Sis. Dixon shared one encounter with me that I shall never forget. She told me that one morning while she was cleaning up the bedroom of the husband and wife (her main employers), she found some money under a pillow. When she tried to return the money to the husband, she instantly realized that he had intentionally left the money as an indicator of his sexual interest in her. Being married, and also being unalterably opposed to being exploited sexually by this white male employer—even if she hadn't been

Appendix E (continued)

married—Sis. Dixon gave the money to the man's wife. She then carefully explained that she thought it would be best if she resigned. And she left the house, never to return. This story made a profound impression upon me. It provided me with a stirring insight into some of the trying experiences this mature black woman had navigated over the years. Her story also gave me an insight into her self-will, her determination to be self-determining, her keen sense of how to handle inappropriate behaviors by people who thought themselves her social betters, and her integrity.
Najja and I spoke at length this afternoon. Najja suggests that I "pre-test" some of the respondents, perhaps 5, and ask them interview questions to determine where tweaking may be necessary. This suggestion was prompted by my admission that I am finding the need to reformulate certain questions as I am going through an interview with a person. I am also finding the need to ask a certain question and then revisit it at another point within the interview. Najja says that in dealing with the above issues I am confronting the problem of "voicelessness" within the lives and experiences of women and men within societal margins. Revisit literature addressing this problem, including the volume to which Najja has referred, Feminist Research Methods (edited by McCall and Nielsen?).

I also spoke with Najja about the one-word responses that I am encountering. I think that what may well be called for is a revisiting of certain questions once the interviews are transcribed. I have been asking respondents, and will continue to ask them, about revisiting certain issues and questions if this seems necessary.

Asked Najja again about what he has heard from the woman whom he has engaged to transcribe for him. He is going to call her again to follow-up.

Today I once again asked Lorenzo about looking for relevant files on 1199 days—just to keep this on his "radar screen."

**Note for 4.8.04:*

Today the scheduled interview w/ Bernita Drayton and Marion Epps fell through. We had originally scheduled it for the period from 1700 to 1900, but at 1736 I had not seen them, nor received any call on my cell or office phones. At about 1744 I was on my way into my carrel to close up for the evening, and I met the sisters in the building in which the IUN Library is housed. The explanation which Marion and Bernita gave—which I believe—sheds further light on *the nature of the workplace in which they work and try to strengthen the effectiveness of the union.* Apparently, a mandatory meeting was called prior to 1600. Of course the sisters went to the meeting. Yet the meeting had not ended by 1700 and the sisters could not call—because to call they would have been obliged to leave the meeting! *The arbitrariness of the management personnel in this instance speaks to the disregard of management for both the women employed in the hospital and*

Appendix E (continued)

for the union. Bernita and Marion observed that management seems focused upon breaking the union and breaking the spirits of the workers as well. Yet this is the environment within which these African-American women must eke out their livings.

Admittedly, I was pissed initially. Yet I also knew that I needed to be patient. When I saw Bernita and Marion I expressed my "disappointment," although I was very restrained. I told them that I felt like they might have called, but they explained that they had tried after they finally got out of the mandatory meeting. I am glad, actually, that this occurrence took place, because it helps me to gain additional insight into the situation confronting health care workers at Methodist Hospital's Southlake campus. Bernita and Marion and I sat down and looked at my calendar in order to reschedule. Given the indeterminate nature of their workplace conditions as well as the planning and follow-through of union activities, we scheduled the interview for Thursday, August 5 at 1645. We will plan to finish around 1845, and this will give Bernita time to make her choir rehearsal at church. Sisters always balancing...

It is one thing to talk and teach about the workplace in today's neoliberal context. It is altogether a different story when one has to actually work and survive within a workplace such as Methodist Hospital, in which at least some management personnel tend to think that the norms of slavery ought to apply in 2004!

**Note for 6.8.04*

Spoke with Randy at the Ford Foundation today re the doctoral and post-doctoral fellowship programs currently offered. Randy says the necessary information is not presently available, but will be very soon. I inquired re the requirement of GRE scores, which Randy says would NOT apply for my situation. I will try in about a week to access www.nationalacademies.org/fellowships. Randy also told me that one can apply for both the doctoral and post-doctoral fellowships. Follow through on this.

**Note for 20.11.04*

With transcriptions of most of all the initial interviews with research subjects completed, now I must return to the subjects for clarification and deepening of the interview explorations.

I am feeling quite scattered and apprehensive right now. The pressures of the semester's teaching and administrative tasks, as well as the problems of family life, have crowded in upon me, and it is quite difficult to feel a continuing sense of progress. Some of this is illusory, I know, as the juggling of multiple tasks tends to bring feelings of inadequacy and frustration. The good news for me, I think, is that I have followed through thus far with data collection, and I have definitely amassed some useful data. How much? This

Appendix E (continued)

has yet to be determined. Yet I am in a good position to move forward, since I have an evolving sense of the importance of my research project, and I have opportunities to make time to work on the project in a more deliberate manner. Whenever I can manage to accomplish a task that must be completed, I am making progress. REGARDING THIS MATTER, I THINK THAT CHANGING MY REGIMEN SO THAT I AM WORKING ON DISSERTATION TASKS [1] A CERTAIN AMOUNT EACH DAY, AND [2] EARLY IN THE DAY, MAY ENABLE ME TO WORK THROUGH MY APPREHENSIONS ABOUT NOT GETTING WORK DONE. JUST DO THE WORK! IF I TAKE CARE OF THE WORK, THE WORK WILL EVENTUALLY TAKE CARE OF ME!

I think I am also a little afraid of what I'll find, or of what I may NOT find. This is somewhat understandable, perhaps. I want to make a solid contribution with my research, yet I am fearful that I won't find much of real import. But this fear may itself be an indication of biases that I am harboring as a result of my own internalized oppression, or my own forms of privilege. So much negative talk exists with respect to African-American workers, Black women, and workers in general that to some extent, one can easily slip into unconscious acceptance of the ideological attacks being launched daily and hourly, like so many bombing sorties.

The matter of agency is beginning to loom more complex. Several issues, however, are becoming clear. First, agency must be understood in relation to organization. Raising the question of the capacities of oppressed people(s) to think and act in their interests, collectively and as individual members of oppressed groups, means that we are searching for openings, for moments of awakening to more conscientious and conscious activity in opposition to oppression. In our quest for agency and how to most effectively invigorate it, we are seeking ways to bring workers to greater consciousness and more deliberate, more politically-conscious, and more protracted and flexible action Second, agency must be considered within the contexts of oppressive social structures (this includes institutions); social processes; and social representations (and this includes ideology). These interconnected social contexts must be considered because they are the constitutive spaces of oppression and discrimination, and they are the terrains within which oppositional social movement activity must be grounded. Third, the matter of agency must be considered beyond the constraining notions of mainstream and malestream political theory. This body of knowledge gravely limits our ability to adequately understand the ways in which people are shaped, as well as the ways by which the oppressed react and respond to oppressions. If we can better understand how human social and political actors address the matrix of their oppressions (to use Patricia hill Collins's concept); then we can learn how to inform and structure education for transformation. We can better learn how to intervene—*with* workers, rather *for* them—against the impact of oppressions on individuals and collectivities.

Appendix E (continued)

Note for 21.11.04

*Ask Tiney about race relations at St. Margaret's.

*Ask for elaboration on the organization of activity w workers. How were actions decided, and by whom? What factors contributed to the decisions about necessary activities?

Note for 21.11.04 (continued)

As Tiney and I worked through the transcript today, we came to an area of our conversation that demands careful elaboration. This is the question of why union leadership seems to have worsened during the 1980s. Tiney had initially underscored the problem of different groups of workers in her experiences at St. Mary's and at Methodist. Yet as we talked, it also seemed that the interview discussion should also reflect different stances in management at St. Mary's and management at Methodist. I also indicated to Tiney that we probably should note the changing political and economic climate in the United States as Tiney was transitioning from St. Mary's to Methodist. By this I was referring to the hardening postures of corporate managements as the neoliberal restructuring agenda of capital was taking hold within the country. We are going to revisit this complex matter in our next follow-up conversation. I am particularly focused on the need to clarify this matter carefully because a number of study subjects have made reference to a "change" that took place in the way the union (SEIU) seemed to function, and the change seems to have become more apparent during the 1980s!

Note for 18.1.05

Sister Mary has some important elaborations to share in our next session for work on the transcription. The gist is that before the establishment of the union, the women at Wildwood—mainly single parents and Black—had looked out for each other. They had covered for each other and stuck together so that as problems came up for individual women, an individual could rely upon other workers for support. This insight speaks to the question of *work culture*, the concept used by Karen B. Sacks (1988). Yet when the ownership of the nursing home changed—when Thomas Crump, a Black, took over—the workers began to see the need for a union. This matter speaks to the varied ways in which class realities become visible to various workers whose social and political identities are different.

Note for 3.7.05

My conversation this AM with Lorenzo Crowell provides yet another insight to be noted. Lorenzo said that during a recent staff meeting, a discussion arose regarding the necessity

Appendix E (continued)

of paying more attention to workers' ideas and participation in decision-making about job actions to be taken within healthcare workplaces. This seems an important shift that warrants consideration not only within Local 20 of SEIU, but throughout the country. Lorenzo suggests that the culture of 1199 was always somewhat stronger than SEIU culture with respect to the democratic participation of rank-and-file workers.

Note #2 for 3.7.05

As I am reading over my introductory paragraphs for my paper, I think that I need to cut some of the chronological summary of Gary's woes in the 1970s. What is primary here? If the conditions of the early 1980s are critical to an understanding of the vortex within the women workers found themselves, then I need more about the 1980s and considerably less about the 1970s. This is not my dissertation. It is a piece of it, spun out to achieve specific ends.

Note #3 for 3.7.05

I think I need to ask Jean a few more questions about the ideas that she and others had about their work and their relations on the job. This will help me gain insights into work culture.

Note #1 for 3.9.05

In my discussion of the conditions, or context, setting the stage for Black women worker's resistance at Wildwood during the 1980s, be mindful of using an approach that illuminates to some extent the manifestations of oppression(s) in *social structures and processes; in representations; and in human interactions, behaviors, and ideas.* DON'T LOSE SIGHT OF THIS APPROACH!

Be sure to also consider both the "external" and "internal" conditions confronting African-American women workers. This means that we need to give some attention to the consequences for, and contributions to, an ethic of social struggle resulting from the contradictions of Black Power strivings in Gary. Indeed, the season of "Black Power" had helped to inspire many workers to fight for their needs and those of their communities. Yet the limitations and weaknesses being revealed amongst African-Americans by the 1980s cannot be dismissed from a cogent analysis of the ideals and activism of African-American workers. The paper—or even the dissertation chapter—is not an appropriate space for such a discussion. Nevertheless, it is important to broach this matter in order to offer some corrective thinking about the relationship between identities and working-class agency.

Appendix E (continued)

Note #2 for 3.9.05

Make use of the work of Sharon Kurtz! For an example, use the following insights from her book [2002] to underscore the importance of the strike of mainly African-American women at Wildwood Manor:

> When given the opportunity, women of all races and men and women of color have been avid, militant union supporters and activists and have benefited from union-won wages, conditions, job protection, and power on the job [Aronowitz 1992; Bronfenbrenner 1991; Foner 1978, 1980, 1981; Moody 1988]." (p. xviii)
>
> Yet the task remains of creating a labor movement that matches the U.S. workforce in membership, leadership, agenda, and vision. As the editors of a special 'Building on Diversity' issue of *Labor Research Review* argued:
>
> > 'We don't have to tell you that the future of the labor movement lies in the millions of women and people of color who increasingly are embracing unionism or who constitute the unorganized workforce in the U.S. Nor do we have to tell you that unions committed to internal organizing as well as organizing new members need to develop leaders and organizers who reflect the faces and cultures of these workers. You know all this—the question is how.' (Oppenheim 1991, vi)

Note #3 for 3.9.05

In follow-up questions with the women of the study, it seems useful to ask whether or not their union trainings ever emphasized *their specific experiences as Black women workers* in an effort to mobilize them as workers. I think that I already can speculate on the likely, or probable, answer that most will give. Nonetheless, such a question and response can help to suggest scholarly work that remains to be done. Consider Kurtz's insights again, In the following quote:

> "It is helpful to consider the challenge of integrating race, gender, and class politics as a question of identity. Collective identity, as sociologists call it, is a movement's answer to the question 'Who are we?' It is not innate, automatically determined by a movement's membership. Nor, as some activists argue, is it automatically shaped by demands. Identity is neither permanent nor fixed. Rather, identity is socially produced, what we call a social construction. And as a social construction, it is a matter in

Appendix E (continued)

> which movements can intervene. How do they do that? And to what end?" (pp.xx-xxi)

Note #4 for 3.9.05

Consider the *political* importance—and the urgency—of grasping what Sharon Kurtz says re the constitution "collective identity" through what she refers to as "a range of *identity practices*." As she says, "these include a movement's *demands, framing and ideology, culture, leadership, organizational structure, and support resources*."

> "Identity practices are a collection of individual movement behaviors that accumulate. To construct a movement's self-definition. The array of identity practices suggests a variety of ways in which movements can forge themselves as vehicles of multi-injustice politics." (p. xxi.)

Further on in her discussion, Kurtz says "to speak of *identity* is not to suggest that identity is the only or principal task of social movements, or that it should be. It is one of the many threads in the fabric any social movement weaves.... It is *part of the mix* with *developing strategy, mobilizing members, amassing sufficient resources, handling internal conflicts, eluding social control efforts, working successfully to frame media coverage.*

Note #1 for 3.10.05

I am beginning to realize that a cogent case study of survival and resistance strategies cannot be accomplished without careful attention to what Karen B. Sacks has called. *work culture.* In turn, work culture is a window on both the individual and collective understandings of work and the social relations that help and/or hinder its accomplishment. In fact, what workers actually do, individually and/or collectively—either to survive or to resist [which is also very much about "surviving'] is largely grounded within the work culture of a particular unit or department of a workplace. It is important to underscore the fact that a given workplace can often have several work cultures, rather than one that is universal to the entire workplace. Perhaps a more cogent way of stating this complex situation is to say that a given workplace can have a number of work cultures in various departments, while also having a general culture comprised of elements of all the various cultures. Yet how those various cultures within departments or units "add up" is seldom, if ever, a simple matter of arithmetic. This points, yet again, to the need for workers within a workplace to arrive at an understanding of their interests through a process of discussion and some struggle instead of simply declaring or imposing those interests and priorities. Workers in various job units and classifications will have to come together with other workers and communicate about existing conditions and strategies. The workers will also have to come to some understandings

Appendix E (continued)

about strategies of survival and resistance that will address both collective and individual needs.

As I am refining interviews, I need to pay careful attention to my discussions with workers who perform specific types of jobs, so that I can better determine the *salient elements of those work cultures.*

Note #1 for 3.12.05

Today I had a long conversation w Lorenzo on a number of issues, mainly the Wildwood strike and its aftermath. My notes are intended as a general record of things noted in this conversation. I think that given Lorenzo's job situation within the current SEIU culture, it is probably best to leave a number of his shared insights in note form. At another time, I can refer to those insights without having to worry about trying to get everything on a recorded—and transcribed—interview. His insights are nonetheless valuable. Lorenzo underscores the exceptional character of the mostly women workers at Wildwood. In particularly, he speaks with the highest regards about *the leadership exercised by the core group of leaders:* Edna, Charlotte [Mary], Mildred [Lurella], Alter Jean, Shirley{Dixon, now deceased}, and Theresa. Initially, Theresa had not been one of the leaders, having arrived at Wildwood after the others had been there for some time. Yet once she began to learn about the conditions at Wildwood and the concerns of workers who had been there for some time; Theresa bloomed quickly as a compassionate warrior.

Lorenzo spoke not only about the leadership of the core group, but also of *the work ethic* and *the camaraderie* of the workers generally. These insights speak to both the work culture and the agency of these women. Still, one does feel obliged to ask, "What particular circumstances contributed to the fighting spirit and the diligent activism of these core fighters?"

One very important factor that must not be lost is the fact that within 1199 culture, strong emphasis was placed upon the training of delegates [stewards] to approach workplace problems with a sense of independence and self-confidence. Such emphasis helped to create a steward structure that actually strengthened workplaces by enlivening delegates and workforces to confront management without having to call and consult with organizers and reps every time a problem arose within the workplace. Thus, the "union" could actually emerge as an embodiment of the workers themselves, and not as "an insurance agency" that was present only when the organizers and reps came to the workplace. When we consider the fact that most of the core leadership at Wildwood were delegates trained in the 1199 culture, we can readily discern a powerful impetus to their activism.

Appendix E (continued)

Considering what I am beginning only now to understand, the confluence of a number of factors led to the forms and the intensity of resistance. These factors include the apparent opinions of the Wildwood women that conditions at Wildwood seemed to worsen once the ownership of the facility was assumed by Thomas Crump,. It may be that Crump's identity as a wealthy, politically-connected, arrogant, pretender to "Horatio Alger" status helped to exacerbate the sense of betrayal and anger felt by the Black women who worked for him. Lorenzo indicates that Crump expressed outrage that the Black women at Wildwood would "dare" to fight him over health insurance, respect, and wages. Newspaper accounts of the strike battle indicate that on more than one occasion Crump tried to suggest that 1199 was a White-controlled union seeking to undermine him as a Black businessman. His apparently disdainful stance toward Wildwood workers may well have had an incendiary effect upon women whose life experiences to that point had led them to expect better treatment from "one of their own." Within the context of Gary's African-American struggles for equity and power, the stark comparison between a Hatcher and a Crump may well have helped to fuel the outrage of the women at Wildwood and eventually many residents of the African-American community. Consider this further.

Lorenzo notes that Thomas Crump had at one time worked at U.S. Steel., and had been a union member. Thus Lorenzo speaks w anger even today about someone who "forgot where he came from." As we were talking, I tried to emphasize to Lorenzo how the conditions at Wildwood could not be fully understood without grasping the convergence and interplay of race, gender, and class. At first, Lorenzo was not enthusiastic about acknowledging any role played by race, since Crump was Black, like most of "his" employees. After some discussion, I made the point that although Crump may not have been "racist" in ways identical to those exercised by Whites; he nonetheless made use of racist stereotypes that have historically and contemporarily positioned African-Americans to do certain types of demeaning labor in this society, and region. Thus, the strike battle certainly involved race matters, even though "race" may not have appeared to be salient in this struggle. Lorenzo may not be won to this view, but I am maintaining this point in my discussions and continuing work on this struggle at Wildwood. Lorenzo did acknowledge that he understands that race may be involved, despite the saliency of some other form of oppression, such as class. Part of Lorenzo's understanding is the reality that he and other organizers from 1199 had to be very careful about the ways in which they presented the union interpretation of the ongoing strike issues. Given the volatility and pervasiveness of race, class, and gender issues in Gary historically and contemporarily, union discussions were designed to avoid any undue manipulation of issues in ways that would confuse or undermine the struggle of the workers. While the work of Sharon Kurtz, as well as that of numerous feminists of color, indicates the importance of framing all the complex matters of identity and social location in working-class struggles; in the 1980s, such recognition was not widely accepted. It is also not widely accepted today [Kurtz's *Workplace Justice: Organizing Multi-Identity Movements*

provides a most instructive "Introduction" in which she considers this matter. See pp. xv-xxxvii. See also Evelyn Nakano Glenn's "From Servitude to Service Work: Historical Continuities in the Racial Division of Paid Reproductive Labor," in Ruiz and DuBois 2000 (Third Edition), pp.436-465.]

Lorenzo talked about the range and frequency of activities conducted by 1199 during the strike battle. Placing ads in local papers, using television and radio spots to present strike issues and counter Crump efforts, holding rallies and demonstrations, etc., were among the range of weapons used to win over Crump. Lorenzo also spoke of one particular instance in which preparations had been made completed to have Jesse Jackson come to Gary to speak on behalf of the strikers. In this instance, however, a local minister from Gary served as go-between for Crump, and was able to back Jackson off of his commitment by presenting 1199 as a political force trying to attack Crump's business. Lorenzo could not recollect the name of the local minister used by Crump. Yet here is a perfect example of how biases amongst African-Americans about labor, class, gender, and race can be used to undermine struggles of workers—who comprise the majority of the population in African-American communities around the country. In particular, we can see the willingness of politicians and entrepreneurs like Crump to push any buttons they consider useful—even to red-bait—if such efforts will help them advance their interests.

The instance related above also speaks to the extent to which Crump was quite resourceful and well-connected politically in Gary. Crump had been a member of the City Council, had sought to attack Richard Hatcher on a number of occasions, and was intent upon supplanting Hatcher as Mayor of Gary. Lorenzo also notes that as the workers' strike persisted, even some of Crump's local associates began to acknowledge the rightness of the workers' cause, and these associates made their way to the workers to express their support in a number of ways. They also swore the workers and the union to secrecy, apparently not wanting to brook Crump's wrath nor lose his political good-will for the future.

Lorenzo argues that one critical difference between the strikes at Wildwood and Methodist was the interference at Methodist of union "leadership" in ways that undermined the will, resolve and agency of the workers. While Lorenzo is not in any position to name Tom Balanoff, a Chicago-based SEIU "leader" who is a White male; Balanoff is the person who came over to Gary to usurp the Local 73HC striking workers at Methodist. He was also instrumental in foisting Pia Davis upon Local 73HC as President. Eventually, this move backfired, as local members became fed up with Pia's authoritarian and undemocratic style, her misleadership, as well as her financial excesses; and subsequently voted her out of office and made Byron Hobbs the new President. This was accomplished through the "Members First" Campaign, which I also helped to support.

Appendix E (continued)

Lorenzo made a point which I had not ever considered, and that is that Alice Bush and Tiney Ross were not really expecting the Wildwood workers to strike until shortly before they took their strike vote. Since Lorenzo was actually the representative for the bargaining unit, he was in some ways much closer to the pulse of the workers there, and the leaders had told him in 1988 that after three previous attempts to get Crump to be reasonable and fair about providing health insurance, if Crump balked they would walk. Alice and Tiney apparently did not actually understand just how serious the workers were until the 11th hour.

Once the battle was joined, however, all three of the reps were united in doing as much as they could to assist the strikers. Powerful expressions of solidarity were made by trade unionists with which the reps had connections in the area. Food was provided; coal was regularly brought to the picket line; a camper was provided by a worker for the strikers to use; area unionists came over to the picket line to stand with the workers; and a number of other expressions of solidarity were made. Such support was also extended during the strike by people from the Gary community!

Internally, Lorenzo underscores the importance of regular contact and communication between the reps and the strikers! These efforts helped maintain and bolster morale, and kept the strikers abreast of how the battle was faring. Such continuous contact and communication also speaks to the agency of the strikers, because at important junctures, the leaders would address concerns of the workers and help to shore up morale and provide direction to help move the strike forward in response to some new attack from management.

The workers became so involved in the strike, says Lorenzo, that even when they had won, they did not really want to return to work. The expressions and feelings of solidarity were strong, and the strikers' anger at the management and scabs was so intense; that workers had to be convinced to return.

Here we come to a most remarkable development of the overall battle waged by the workers. Despite the many strong feelings about the scabbing, Lorenzo, Tiney, and Alice struggled with the workers and eventually persuaded them that they needed to return to work and organize those workers who had acted as scabs during the strike. This is exactly what the workers did! Partly out of anger, perhaps; partly out of an intense desire to carry the victory of the strike forward to make the workplace even stronger against the probable provocations of management; the workers organized most of the unorganized workers.

Appendix E (continued)

Note #1 for 3.13.05

During my conversation w Theresa Brown today, I learned about her experiences w battering and mental abuse.

Note #1 for 3.17.05

Sister Charlotte has some important elaborations to share. The gist is that before the establishment of the union, the women at Wildwood—mainly single parents and Black—had looked out for each other. They had covered for each other and stuck together so that as problems came up for individual women, an individual could rely upon other workers for support. Yet when the ownership of the nursing home changed—when Thomas Crump, a Black, took over—the workers began to see the need for a union. Charlotte's insights resonate w those of Edna Barden, w whom she had worked. Both of these women were "veterans" at Wildwood. This matter speaks to the varied ways in which class realities become visible to various workers whose social and political identities are different.

Note #1 for 4.28.05

Recently I have become more keenly aware of the importance of Vicki Spelman's word of caution in her responses to my prospectus. She alerted me to the need to better understand the entire matter of subjectivity as it relates to agency and conditions of [multiple] oppressions. Lately I have happened across a number of readings/titles that have underscored this matter. I am now trying to better ground myself in feminist, postmodern, and some mainstream discussions so that I can offer some cogent assessments of my data regarding such matters.

Note #2 for 4.28.05

Related to matters of subjectivity and agency, yet distinct from them, is the question of the nature of a Black women's standpoint. Patricia Hill Collins's work is very illuminating on this topic. Note Collins;

> "The presence of an independent standpoint does not mean that it is uniformly shared by all Black women or even that Black women fully recognize its contours... I use the phrase '*Black women's standpoint*' to emphasize the plurality of experiences within the overarching term 'standpoint.' ...My use of the standpoint epistemologies as an organizing concept does not mean that the concept is problem-free." (p. 542 in Tuana and Tong, 1995).

Appendix E (continued)

Note #1 for 4.29.05

See "Intersectional Identity and the Authentic Self," by Diana Tietjens Meyers, in *Relational Autonomy: Feminist Perspectives on Autonomy, Agency and the Social Self*; (Eds. Catriona Mackenzie and Natalie Stoljar (2000/1999).

> "In philosophical treatments of autonomy, this...experience of self-understanding and self-realization has been crystallized in the ideas of authenticity and self-governance. This way of conceptualizing the phenomenon of autonomy has, alas, proved susceptible to hyperbolic distortion. Self-understanding has been taken to presuppose a unitary, homogeneous self; self-governance has been taken to pre-suppose unfettered independence from other individuals, as well as from the larger society." (p. 152)

> "To the extent that this caricature has seized the philosophical imagination, feminists have charged, the autonomous individual has been reduced to an androcentric phantasm. Yet, despite feminist objections to the self-originating, self-sufficient, coldly rational, shrewdly calculating, self-interest maximizing, male paragon of autonomy, and despite feminist wariness that reclaiming autonomy will prove antithetical to the project of revaluing interpersonal capacities that are conventionally coded feminine, many feminist writers continue to invoke ostensibly discredited values like self-determination in unguarded writing about the needs of women and the aims of feminism. It is notable, too, that other feminists have rallied to the explicit defense of autonomy. This revival is by no means surprising, for feminists must account for the control women exert over their lives under patriarchy, for their opposition to subordinating social norms and institutions, and for their capacity to bring about emancipatory social change." (p. 152)

> "The philosophical problem of autonomy takes on texture and depth when it is situated in a realistic context. The reality I propose to inject into my discussion of autonomy is the fact that enormous numbers of people are assigned to social groups that are systematically subordinated. The wonder is that despite this subordination some of these individuals are exemplars of autonomy, and few of them altogether lack autonomy.... That this is so belies two prominent, seemingly incontrovertible assumptions about autonomy. First, although it seems undeniable that an autonomy-friendly environment is necessary for autonomy, this is not the case.

Appendix E (continued)

Note #1 for 5.1.05

See Sharon Kurtz's rich and pointed discussion in chapter 3 of her volume. [Quoting from Cheryl Gooding]:

> "Labor's revitalization as an enduring political force will depend on its ability to organize, unify, and inspire its traditional constituents, as well as groups which will form the majority of tomorrow's union members: women, people of color, immigrants, gays and lesbians.
>
> Labor has historically asked women workers, workers of color, gay and lesbian workers to join organized labor on the basis of their identities as workers only—a solidarity based on denial of sexism, racism, and heterosexism as additional oppressions that also must be addressed. But solidarity based on denial has not worked; it has made the house of labor feel like less of a home for many of us, and has weakened the labor movement. (p. 43)

Note #1 for 5.5.05

Talking w Emily Hixon today, I began feeling more excitement about my dissertation work. I was excited as I talked w Emily about the need to situate the women of my study with larger groups and social trends within this country. As I was thinking out loud w Boone yesterday, I noted the apparent need to provide not only SES info on the women; but also to situate them, to provide a context within which they can be seen and initially understood as reflective of larger groups and bigger pictures, so to speak. I am reminded of the ways in which Patricia Hill Collins and Maxine Baca Zinn have situated working-class women of color as members of oppressed groups. This is important in order to be able to subsequently underscore the ways these women have demonstrated forms of resistance to the multiple forms of oppression that have characterized their lives. Situating the women of my study will also help to underscore the significance of the study, I think.

Note for 5.6.05

Dorian sent me the following today:

Brother TB,

I'll give you a ring later this evening sometime. Been a crazy week.
I used my research funds here to order another copy of Nvivo. So please don't buy the program.

Appendix E (continued)

You should be able to use the LICENSE CODE below to install the copy I sent you.
Let me know if it works or not.
Had lunch with Renaye yesterday who seems to be doing okay.

In peace,
Dorian

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X-PH: V4.4 (uchicago), $Revision: 1.66 $@mx02
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To: dtw3@uchicago.edu
Cc: NSIT Site Licensing Office <licensing@uchicago.edu>
Subject: Downloading NVivo
Reply-To: NSIT Site Licensing Office <licensing@uchicago.edu>
Mail-Followup-To: dtw3@uchicago.edu,
    NSIT Site Licensing Office <licensing@uchicago.edu>
User-Agent: Mutt/1.5.6i
X-Uchicago-PMX-Id: 128.135.146.54: j46GNbRW022645 [Fri May 6 11:23:38 2005]
X-Uchicago-Spam: Gauge=IIIIIII, Probability=7%

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Appendix E (continued)

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Note #1 for 5.8.05

Chapter Six of Kurtz's book, "Making Meaning of the Strike," provides very valuable insights into several issues that I need to think clearly and carefully about in order to write cogently about the survival and resistance strategies of the women of my study. One of the most important concerns for me now is the completion of the dissertation in the next 3-4 months. I can do this, but I must avoid any and all distractions, including temptations to delve into matters that are not really pertinent to my focus: the survival and resistance strategies of the women of my study. The problems associated with political agency—questions of autonomy, subjectivity, etc.—have some bearing upon the work I am doing. Yet I think that I can all to easily drift into exploration of how contemporary feminists have, and have not, conceptualized autonomy; when the task is to complete the case study that I began months (actually a couple of years) ago. It is great to begin to understand the important discussions within feminist literature on autonomy and agency. But that sphere of feminist work awaits my completion of the dissertation. I can certainly make use of contributions in the literature that are really germaine to my discussions; but I think I will do better to avoid long digressions at this point. Keep the discussions of agency and autonomy tightly tethered to the research I am analyzing. Leave to another time discussions that expand upon that research! Note how Kurtz avoids becoming too scholastic in her discussion within her book—she provides a cogent discussion, sometimes raising very complex concepts and conceptualizations, yet she uses her endnotes for discussions from which the reader can embark on other examinations that would simply distract from the issues Kurtz is discussing.

Reading Kurtz, and drawing upon my own experiences as a union member and union staffer, I am keenly aware of "the risks of fracture associated with identity politics." Of course, in this instance, Kurtz is referring to explicit efforts to use the multiple identities of marginalized workers as bases for education, organization, and mobilization.

Appendix E (continued)

Note #1 for 10/27/05

"Coming to Voice Coming to Power: Black Feminist Thought as Critical Social Theory," in *Fighting Words: Black Women & the Search for Social Justice*, Patricia Hill Collins, 1998.

"As Black feminist critic Mae Henderson points out, 'It is not that black women...have had nothing to say, but rather that they have had no say' [1989, 24]. Henderson's statement speaks to the importance that social theories produced by elites can have in maintaining social inequality [Van Dijk 1993]. Designed to present the interests of those privileged by hierarchical power relations of race, economic class, gender, sexuality, and nationality, elite discourses present a view of social reality that elevates the ideas and actions of highly educated White men as normative and superior. Thus, elite discourses measure everyone else's accomplishments in light of how much they deviate from this ideal.

- For example, social theories portraying Black people as intellectually inferior, criminally inclined, and sexually deviate emerged in conjunction with systems of politically and economic exploitation such as slavery, de facto and de jure segregation, colonialialism, and apartheid [Jones 1973; Said 1978; Richards 1980; Gould 1981; Delgado 1984; Gilman 1985; Asante 1987; McKee 1993].

- Similarly, theories of women's seemingly more emotional and less rational nature have long buttressed social arrangements designed to keep women ill educated and relegated to so-called helping professions [Keller 1985; Harding 1986, 1991; Fraser 1989; Smith 1990a, 1990b]. These two traditions combine in shaping Black women's images and the discriminatory treatment condoned by those images [Collins 1990; Morton 1991; Jewell 1993; Mullings 1994]. Racist and sexist assumptions that permeate much Western knowledge fail to wither away when the political arrangements that created them change. Instead they live on, having a life of their own [Minnich 1990; Torgovnick 1990]." pp. 44-45

"Given the significance of elite discourses in maintaining power relations, knowledge produced by, for, and/or in behalf of African-American women becomes vitally important in resisting oppression [Fanon 1963; Cabral 1973]. Such oppositional knowledge typically aims to foster Black women's opposition to oppression and their search for justice. Since oppression applies to group relationships under unjust power relations, justice, as a construct, requires group-based or structural changes. For Black women as a collectivity, emancipation, liberation, or empowerment as a group rests on two interrelated goals. One is the goal of self-definition, or the power to name one's own

Appendix E (continued)

reality. Self-determination, or aiming for the power to decide one's own destiny, is the second fundamental goal. Ideally, oppositional knowledge developed by, for, and/or in defense of African-American women should foster the group's self-definition and self-determination.

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